# STRATEGIES FOR CELEBRATION: REALISING THE IDEAL CELEBRATORY CITY IN LONDON AND PARIS, 1660-1715

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**AHRC Collaborative Doctoral Award**

**September 2011**

**Abstract**

Urban festival actively sought to transform the early modern city, creating an idealised space that was deemed to be a more suitable site for celebration. This dissertation shows how urban festival marked both the conjuncture and disjuncture between a rhetorical ideal and the challenges inherent in its practical realisation in London and Paris between 1660 and 1715.

Celebrations were located in the real early modern city- a space that posed all manner of design problems for those responsible for designing, devising and choreographing festival. While the ideal celebratory city did exist in the rhetoric that informed preparations for events and their representation, festival also constituted a series of performances in real space and time that were subject to uncontrollable factors, such as poor weather, injury, uncooperative workforces and imperfect audience response. Only those charged with commemorating festival had full control over the event, producing the books, chronicles and illustrative material that are most often consulted as sources by festival historians.

By means of a tripartite structure, this dissertation will interrogate how the deployment of the spectacular aspired to create the ideal celebratory city at three key moments in the narrative of every celebration. The first section focuses on the practical and legislative preparations made before events. The second section considers the evidence of what actually happened during the performance or realisation of the events. The third, and final, part of the dissertation looks at the representation of celebrations in printed textual descriptions and visual images. Starting from the evidence of objects, including viewing platforms, fireworks, temporary architecture and bonfires, it will suggest the extent to which the ideal was achieved and the ways in which it influenced the practice of those involved in its production. Moreover, as a single event could be informed by more than one version of the ideal celebratory city, evidence of preparation, performance and representation will also demonstrate how far celebrations were the product of contested ideals.

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**Acknowledgements**

Not unlike early modern festival, a doctoral thesis is the work of more than one person. Without the kindness and support of family, friends and colleagues, I would not have completed this project, or preserved to a greater or lesser degree my sanity.

As the holder of a Collaborate Doctoral Award, I am indebted to the support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council, who funded my project. Additional thanks are owed to the Society for the Study of French History, who provided generous funds to support my fieldwork in Paris. As a CDA student, I have been lucky enough to be part of two thriving research communities: the University of Sussex, where I am part of the department of Art History; and the Research Department at the Victoria & Albert Museum. At Sussex, special thanks are owed to my colleagues Meaghan Clarke, Flora Dennis, Elizabeth James and Michelle O'Malley, and my students, who tolerated with good grace my attempts to foist material from the seventeenth and eighteenth-century on them at any given opportunity. Special thanks are owed to Maurice Howard for reading and commenting on the final version of my thesis in record time.

At the V&A, I was part of the team that curated the *Baroque* exhibition, which was on at the Museum in Spring 2009, and owe a great many thanks to Nigel Llewelyn, Michael Snodin, Jane Eade, Caroline Maddox and Rocio del Casar, with very special thanks to Joanna Norman, whose patience and good humour were seemingly endless, in spite of my best attempts to test both. Since 2006, I have been a member of the V&A's Research Department, first as a curatorial assistant on the *At Home in Renaissance Italy* exhibition, and subsequently as a doctoral student affiliated with the department. In both capacities, I have experience great kindness and encouragement, which even extended to providing me with desk space, always at a premium, in the final eighteen months of writing up. Special thanks are owed to Elizabeth Miller, Christopher Breward, Glenn Adamson, Marta Ajmar-Wolheim, Richard Checketts, Loraine Long and Helen Woodfield. More recently, I have also worked in the V&A's Exhibitions Department, where Poppy Hollman has been hugely sympathetic to my doctoral commitments in the final months before submission.

In producing a multidisciplinary study of festival in two cities, I have depended on the expertise of a wide range of scholars working across disciplinary boundaries, many of who were kind enough to deal with my many niggling questions and requests in person and by email. Many thanks are owed to: Mark Bannister; Maureen Bell; Marie-Claude Canova-Green; Matthieu Da Vihna; Kevin Gould; Tracey Hill; Colin Jones; Catharine MacLeod; John Miller; Tessa Murdoch; Sheila O'Connoll; Penny Roberts; Carolyn Sargentson; Andrew Spicer; John Styles; Margit Thøfner; and Simon Werrett.

I am also very grateful to the following institutions and their staff for help at various stages in my project: Archives Nationales, Paris; Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris (BHVP), Paris; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; Alan Coates, Bodleian Library; Marchella Leembruggen, the British Library, London; British Museum Prints and Drawings Room; Michael Powell, Chetham's Library; Robert Noel, Lancaster Herald, the College of Arms; Georgianna Ziegler, Folger Shakespeare Library; Erica Foden-Lenahan, The Courtauld Institute of Art; Alastair Fraser, Durham Cathedral Library;

Sally McKay, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles; The Goldsmiths' Company; Guildhall Library, London; Guildhall Library Print Room, London; John Overholt, Houghton Library, Harvard University; Stephen Tabor, Huntington Library and Gallery; Sylvia Martin, Leeds Central Library; Library of Congress, Washington D.C.; London Metropolitan Archives; National Art Library, London; National Gallery, London; National Portrait Gallery, London; National Records Office, London; Jo Ellen McKillop Dickie, The Newbury Library, Chicago; Michael Inman, New York Public Library; Stephie Coane, Sir John Soane's Museum Library; Adrian James, Society of Antiquaries; Eric White, Bridwell Library, Southern Methodist University; Kathryn Chirametli, Toronto Public Library; Michelle Gait, MacBean Collection, University of Aberdeen; Carol Sommer, Clark Memorial Library, University of California, Los Angeles; Catham Ewing, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Gill Cannell, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, University of Cambridge; St. John's College Library, University of Cambridge; Sandy Paul, Trinity College Library, University of Cambridge; Nicholas Smith, University Library, University of Cambridge; Karen Attar, University College Library, London; Karen Cook, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas; Margaret Maclean, University of Leicester Library; John Ryland's Library, University of Manchester; Ryan Hildebrand, Harry Ransome Center, University of Texas at Austin; V&A Prints and Drawings Room; Tony Trowles, Westminster Abbey Library; David Morrison, Worcester Cathedral Library; Karen Spicher, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; and Yorkminster Library.

The life of PhD student would be unbearably lonely without the support of family and friends, too many to mention here, but some of who have been roped into helping me at various stages. Special thanks are owed to Elaine Porter and Caroline Bordas for hosting me during my research trips to Paris in 2008; to Anne Laure Guiot Guillan and Marie Merlet for tidying up my French translations; to Nicola Probert for designing the maps; and to Jasmine Kilburn-Toppin, Christina Petrie and Elsa Richardson for their editorial suggestions. My family, Alice Tierney, Catherine Tierney, Martha Tierney and Roisin Tierney, are due thanks for their help, financial and otherwise, and for feigning interest in early modern scaffolding, while my boyfriend, Jack Rollo, and flatmates, Madeleine Cowley, Maike Hale-Jones and Cara Tolmie, have provided me with countless good dinners and excellent company, the benefits of which should never be underestimated.

And finally, extra thanks are owed to Angela McShane, who got me hooked on the early modern period in the first place. Without her support, good humour, patience and morale boosting, this dissertation would not have been completed. Whether she wants it or not, this PhD is dedicated to her.

## Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used throughout this dissertation:

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| A.N., Paris | Archives Nationales, Paris |
| CSPD | Calendar of State Papers Domestic |
| CSPV | Calendar of State Papers Venetian |
| GHL | Guildhall Library, London |
| LMA | London Metropolitan Archives |
| N.R.A. | National Archives, London |
| *Pepys* | *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, a new and complete transcript by Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (London: Bell & Sons, 1970) |
| *Tronçon 1662* | Tronçon, Jean, *L'Entrée Triomphante de Leurs Maiestez Lovis XIV. Roy de France et de Navarre et Marie Therese d'Avstriche son Epovse, dans la Ville de Paris capitale de Levrs Royavmes, av Retovr de la Signatvre de la Paix Generalle et de levr Herevx Mariage. Enrichie de plusier Figures, des Harangues & de diuerse Pieces considerables pour l'Histoire. Le tout exactement recueilly par l'ordre de Messieurs de Ville* (Paris: Le Cointe, 1662) |
| *Simienowicz 1729* | Simienowicz, Casimir, *The Great Art of Artillery / Of Casimir Simienowicz, formerly lieutenant-general of the Ordnance to the King of Poland*, trans. from French by George Shelvocke (London, 1729) |

## Note on the text

This dissertation deals with two countries, separated not only by the English Channel, but also until 1751 by about ten days. All dates for events in England are given 'old style', following the usage in seventeenth-century England, except that the year is taken to begin on 1 January; all dates for France are 'new style', unless otherwise stated. Where possible original spelling has been retained but I have expanded contemporary contractions and modernised punctuation where necessary. All translations from French are the author's own, as are any inaccuracies or infelicities of expression.

**Strategies for Celebration: Realising the Ideal Celebratory City in London and Paris, 1660-1715**

## Preface: Festivals and Ideals in 2011

On 29 April 2011, London played host to a long awaited wedding. Prince William, the second in line to the British throne, finally married his long-term girlfriend, Catherine Middleton, in a service at Westminster Abbey. Police estimated that over a million spectators lined the processional route from the Abbey back to Buckingham Palace, where an estimated crowd of 500,000 waited for the newly weds to take their place on the balcony.[1] In the United Kingdom alone, an additional 24 million people were said to have watched the service and associated events, as the occasion was broadcast live on television and over the Internet, while it has been speculated that the event's international audience may have reached the staggering two billion people.[2]

On 16 November 2010, the couple announced their engagement by means of a press conference, giving the event's organisers just over five months to pull together an event that would be witnessed by the world.[3] In the months after the engagement, no one who read a newspaper, watched the television, surfed the net, or engaged in small talk could avoid the royal wedding, as television news, digital and print media and interested bystanders poured over every aspect of the preparations being made before the occasion. In this context, the issues of chronology and preparation were clearly linked, with press scrutiny of the numerous small episodes heralding the main event, and instituting a kind of experiential count down. Each day brought a different story, bringing a different part of the event into focus.

On the face of it, this may seem a rather eccentric way to begin a thesis about early modern festival. And yet, the royal wedding in 2011 constituted just the kind of large-

1 'Balcony Kisses Seals Royal Wedding', *BBC News UK* (London: BBC website, 2011), http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-13229961 [accessed 20 June 2011].

2 Robert Winnett and Henry Samuel, 'Royal Wedding Watched Around the World', *The Telegraph* [Online edition] (London: Telegraph Media Group, 2011), http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/royal-wedding/8484257/Royal-wedding-watched-around-the-world.html [accessed 20 June 2011].

3 'Royal Wedding: Preparations Begin for William and Kate', *BBC News UK* (London: BBC website, 2011), http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-11771616 [accessed 20 June 2011].

scale ceremonial event that this dissertation intends to deal with. The presentation of the wedding in the media, and the experience of waiting for the event to happen highlighted some key issues that can be applied to events in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. First, London had to be transformed: in the days, weeks and months before the wedding, the city was actively cleaned, cleared, restored and decorated to become a more suitable site for celebration. Second, the preparations made before the wedding and the commodities produced to commemorate the occasion illustrated the extent to which major, one-off celebrations need to be viewed within an extended chronology. Third, the actual organisation of the royal wedding was hugely collaborative, necessitating months of careful planning and involving contributions from a wide range of personnel. And finally, occasions like the royal wedding are attended by a certain amount of mythologising, becoming the focus for the diverse ideals of a wide range of people.

Let's consider a version of the instantly iconic balcony photo, and what it tells us about the social, cultural and political ideals invested in the royal wedding. **(Fig.1.)** The image showed the bride and bridegroom on the balcony at Buckingham Palace, surrounded by immediate family members and adorable moppets, the children of family and friends, who played the role of bridesmaids and pageboys. The balcony scene in 2011 recalled the very similar photographs taken in 1981 and 1986, after the weddings of Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spencer and Prince Andrew and Sarah Ferguson respectively. In all instances, the moment, as captured, was a show of family unity, providing the nation with a focus for its joyful celebrations. And yet, in 2011, small details had changed. Here, after all, was a future king shown next to his father and stepmother, Camilla Parker-Bowles, both divorcees. While, as the press took great relish in telling us, William was marrying a commoner, albeit one with millionaires for parents. The event, as enshrined in this image, represented a very modern set of family values, and promoted a version of British society that was characterised by opportunity and social mobility, where an airhostess could be mother to a future queen consort. Moreover, the wider occasion could be mined to exemplify ideals as various as 'Cool Britiannia', in its presentation of the younger royal family; feminine beauty, in all the swooning over the Middleton women; and, in a more practical register, as indicative of London's capacity to

successfully host a major event, which was seen to bode well for the London Olympics in 2012.

## Introduction: The Early Modern Celebratory City

In 1660, England awaited the culmination of its own political narrative, as Charles II returned to England after years in Continental exile, seeming to bring to a close a tumultuous period in the country's recent history. With breathless exhilaration, the diarist John Evelyn described the king's arrival in London on 29 May 1660:

> …a Triumph of above 20,000 horse & foote, brandishing their swords and shouting with inexpressible joy: The ways straw'd with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with Tapissry, fountaines running with wine: The Mayor, Aldermen, all the Lords & nobles, Cloth of Silver, gold & velvet every body clad in, the windos and balconies all set with Ladys, Trumpets, Musick & [myriads] of people flocking the streets & was as far as Rochester, so they were 7 houres in passing the Citty, even from 2 in the afternoone 'til nine at night.[4]

The historic moment when the king set foot in his capital city for the first time in seventeen years was marked by the full spectrum of activities associated with seventeenth-century public celebration. Local worthies processed through the streets wearing their finest clothes; the façades of houses were adorned with tapestries and hangings; bells rang; acclamatory crowds flocked, and people drank, with the sound of music heard everywhere. Even the date of Charles's arrival in London was deliberate, as it fell on the restored king's thirtieth birthday.[5]

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4 John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. by E.S. De Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), III, p.246, 29 May 1660. For further accounts of the entry of Charles II into London see also: May 1660, *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg, 1659—61* (London: Royal Historical Society), pp.85, 89—90; *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 23 (28 May—4 June 1660), p.360; Sir Richard Baker, *A Chronicle of the Kings of England…Whereunto is Added the Reign of King Charles the First, and the First Thirteen Years of his Sacred Majesty King Charles the Second…in which are…the most remarkable occurrences relating to his Majesties most happy and wonderful Restoration, by the prudent conduct, under God, of George late duke of Albemarle…as they were extracted out of his Excellencies own papers* [cont. by Edward Phillips], 5th ed. (1670), p.734; Edmund Ludlow, *A Voyce from the Watch Tower*, ed. A.B. Worden, Camden Society 4th ser. 21 (1978), pp.156-7; *Mercurius Publicus*, 22 (24-31 May, 1660), pp.341-2; *England's Joy: or, a Relation of the Most Remarkable Passages from His Majesty's Arrival at Dover to his Entrance at White-hall* (1660); *A True Relation of the Reception of His Majesty, and Conducting Him through the City of London, by the Right Honourable Thomas Allen, Lord Mayor…*(1660); *A Short History of His Royal Majesty King Charles the Second, Ending with his Royal Entry into the City of London* (1660).

5 Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (Harmondsworth: Allen Lane, 2005), p.68.

In Evelyn's account, London was framed as a brighter, better version of itself. Gone was the rough around the edges working city, and in its place stood a place that seemed ideally suited for celebration, and for the expression of social and political ideals. Significantly, the elements that make the description so evocative were direct appeals to the senses. Spectacle, a visual feast, was enhanced by sound (swords clattering, music, bells ringing) and taste (wine). Implicit, but still present, were the feel of luxury textiles, smell of horses and stench that invariably attends a large crowd of people assembled on a summer's day.

Evelyn's vision of the Restoration entry was by no means exceptional. Samuel Pepys's account of Charles II's coronation also transformed London into a Technicolor dream. It is worth dwelling on his description at some length as it raises many issues that are key to the reinterpretation I offer here of early modern festivity. It is also worth noting that Pepys's diary entry was long – fluency that testified to the importance of the occasion. The events associated with the coronation were actually spread over two days. On the day before the service in Westminster Abbey, 22 April 1661, the king and his entourage had processed from the Tower of London to Whitehall. Pepys had watched proceedings from the house of Mr Young, 'the flag-maker', in Cornhill. There, with access to a 'good room…with wine and good cake', he luxuriated in the spectacle:

> The streets all gravelled, and the houses hung with carpets before them, made brave show, and the ladies all out of the windows, one of which over against us I took much notice of, and spoke of her, which made good sport among us. So glorious was the show with gold and silver, that we were not able to look at it, our eyes at last being so overcome with it.[6]

Participants in the procession were no less showily dressed, as Pepys gawped at the 'glory of this day' as 'expressed in the clothes of them that rid', where 'my Lord Sandwich's Embroidery and diamonds were ordinary among them'.[7]

On the actual day of the coronation, 23 April, Pepys rose at 4 am and went to the Abbey, where in the company of the King's Surveyor of Works, Sir John Denham, he took his place on 'a great scaffold across the North end of the Abbey' and waited until Charles II

6 Monday 22 April 1661, *Pepys*, ii.81.

7 ibid.

arrived some seven hours later at 11 am.[8] With so much time to kill, Pepys had ample opportunity to soak up the atmosphere, remarking that it was:

…a great pleasure…to see the Abbey raised in the middle, all covered with red, and a throne (that is a chair) and footstool on the top of it; and all the officers of all kinds, so much as the very fiddlers, in red vests.[9]

Pepys's manifest excitement, along with Evelyn's sensually evocative description of the Restoration, attests to a crucial yet unknown quantity associated with spectacle: the relationship between the design of an event and its emotional and sensory impact. In this instance, the Abbey became, quite literally, a suitable stage for the coronation with the raised platform at its centre dressed in red cloth. Its heightened theatricality fostered in at least one spectator – Pepys – feelings of excitement and anticipation, arguably the emotional responses that an event like the coronation was designed to foster.

'At last' at 11 am, the coronation party arrived at the Abbey led in by the Dean and Prebends of Westminster, and followed by the bishops, many of whom wore 'cloth of gold copes', and 'after them the Nobility, all in their Parliament robes, which was a most magnificent sight.'[10] By this point, Pepys and his companions had been sat in Westminster Abbey for seven hours, so it is with no little irony that one reads the diarist's account of the coronation ritual itself, '...there was a sermon and the service; and then in the Quire at the high altar, the King passed through all the ceremonies of the Coronacion, which to my great grief I and most of the Abbey could not see.[11]

Pepys's textual description of Charles's coronation can be contrasted with Wenceslaus Hollar's etching, produced to illustrate John Ogilby's festival book, *The Entertainment of…Charles II*, and as a stand-alone print.[12] **[Fig. 2]** Pepys's attention to the sensory

8 W. H. Kelliher, 'Denham, Sir John (1614/15–1669)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7481, accessed [22 March 2011].

9 Tuesday 23 April 1661, *Pepys*, ii.83.

10 ibid, p.84.

11 ibid

12 Arthur Mayger Hind, *Wenceslaus Hollar and his views of London and Windsor in the seventeenth century* (London: John Lane, 1922), 101; Richard Pennington, *A descriptive catalogue of the etched work of Wenceslaus Hollar* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 575.

impact of the scenic apparatus and the musicians' costumes can be used to imbue the image with much needed colour and texture, while Hollar's engraving can be used to fill in the gaps in the diarist's written account. The engraving shows Charles II, already crowned, kneeling on the raised platform, while teeming ranks of spectators witnessed the occasion from temporary tiered seating on either side. Using Hollar's image in conjunction with contemporary cartographical representations, most notably 'the Groundplot' of Westminster included in Francis Sandford's *The History of the Coronation of James II*, one can hazard a guess that the scaffold accommodating Pepys and his acquaintances is illustrated on the left-hand side of the composition. **[Fig. 43]**

Pepys's experience of the coronation was marked by missing out. His obstructed view of proceedings meant he could only gauge the moment when Charles officially and ritually became king, as a 'great shout begun'.[13] Likewise, when Lord Cornwallis threw coronation medals into the crowd, he 'could not come by any', while 'so great a noise' erupted that 'I could make little of the music'.[14] While later on the same evening, Pepys, in a 'great deal of company', stood on the 'leads' of Mr Bowyer's house, waiting for the firework display that was intended to provide the climax to the festivities, 'but they [the fireworks] were not performed to-night.'[15]

Yet, this partial experience of the coronation and its associated celebrations must be contrasted with Pepys's delight in the trappings of festivity elsewhere. On leaving Westminster Abbey, he revelled in his privileged access by walking 'round the Abbey to Westminster Hall, all the way within the rayles', to gawp at the estimated '10,000 people' in attendance and 'the ground covered with blue cloth'.[16] Westminster Hall was 'very fine with hangings and scaffolds one upon another', and 'full of brave ladies'. Here, with his wife, he stood and watched as the king came in, crowned, with his entourage, and 'a most pleasant sight it was to see them in their several robes.'[17]

13 Tuesday 23 April, 1661, *Pepys*, ii.84.

14 ibid.

15 ibid, ii.86-7.

16 ibid, ii.84-5.

17 Tuesday 23 April 1661, *Pepys*, ii.85.

That the day was composed of such exquisite fragments of experience has bearings on how we might interpret early modern festival. First, Pepys's account reflects the views of one person at an event that was experienced by tens of thousands. One wonders, for example, how the man, woman or child stood behind the rails outside experienced the same event. Second, Coronation Day was a whole-day experience, comprising the occasion's main ritual, the crowning of Charles II, but also including the shows on the sidelines, such as the splendid sight of the brave attire worn by other spectators. Finally, and most importantly, the description resonated with all the special preparations that had been made before the event, and their emotional and sensory impact. By means of designed and deliberate interventions, London was reconfigured to become a fitting stage for the coronation, an event which was deemed to bring closure to the country's recent unhappy past. For Coronation Day, it had been transformed into the ideal celebratory city, a place that persisted in the memory, when Pepys caught up on his diary, luxuriating in all the wonderful things he had seen:

> Now after all this, I can say that, besides the pleasure of the sight of these glorious things, I may now shut my eyes against any other objects, nor for the future trouble myself to see things of state and show, as being sure never to see the like again.[18]

**Festival and the Ideal City: a Historiographical Overview**

The fragmentary exhilaration found in Pepys and Evelyn's accounts is at odds with the main currents of scholarship on festival, which have tended to stress those aspects of the event that are comparatively easy to access, such as their symbolic design, the significance of choice of narratives, wider political contexts, and involvement of well known artists and craftsmen. The historiography of festival studies is, in part, the story of scholars learning to engage with a rather alien aspect of early modern culture, by putting rituals, ceremonies, spectacles and performances in their correct contemporary contexts, and understanding the very real importance organisers, participants and spectators invested in these occasions. This practice has its roots in the mid-twentieth century. However, it is worth noting that the nineteenth and early twentieth-century prelude to scholarly interest in festival can be found in antiquarian studies, which are a

18 ibid, ii.89.

valuable first point of call in identifying primary source materials.[19] In combination, these studies have refined our understanding of the social, cultural and political imperatives behind events that could be dismissed as nothing more than high holidays, play-acting or fancy parties.

It is no coincidence that the study of early modern spectacles and performances, notable for being multimedia and collaborative, has been informed by more than one area of historical enquiry. With its relentlessly hybrid character, the emergence of festival, as a viable area of research, owes debts to social, political and economic histories; court studies; developments in histories of theatre, music, dance and popular culture; studies of architecture, art, costume and design; literary studies; and reappraisals of the urban environment. This discussion will focus on the impact of four main developments. First, how greater awareness of iconographical and referential modes of thought and expression has shaped historical approaches to visual and textual narrative forms; second, renewed historical interest in the court and its activities; thirdly, the impact on the study of festival on a 'performative turn' in social and cultural history; and finally, the move in recent years to inter- and multi-disciplinary approaches to the study of early modern history.

19 Antiquarian studies that include appraisals of early modern festival in London include: W. Besant, *London in the Time of the Stuarts, 1603-1714* (London: A. & C. Black, 1903); Frederick W. Fairholt, *Lord Mayor's Pageants: being collections towards a history of these annual celebrations, with specimens of the descriptive pamphlets published by the city poets*, 2 vols. (London: T. Richards, 1843-44); John Nicols, *The progresses and public processions of Queen Elizabeth: Among which are interspersed other solemnities, public expenditures, and remarkable events, during the reign of that illustrious princess. Collected from original manuscripts, scarce pamphlets, corporation records, parochial registers, &c*., 3 vols. (London: John Nichols and Son, 1823); John Nicols, *The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First, his royal consort, family and court, collected from original manuscripts, scarce pamphlets, corporation records, parochial registers, &c, &c.,* 4 vols. (London: J.B. Nichols, 1828); Robert Withington, *English Pageantry*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1918). For Paris, see: Paul de Crousaz-Crétet, *Paris sous Louis XIV*, 2 vols. (Paris: Plon, 1922-3); Victor Fournel, *Les Vieux Paris. Fêtes, Jeux et Spectacles* (Tours: A. Mame, 1887); Marcel Poëte, *La Promenade à Paris au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Armand Collins, 1913); Marcel Poëte, *Une vie de cité. Paris de sa naissance à nos jours* (Paris: Picard, 1924); Claude Ruggieri, *Précis historique sur les fêtes, les spectacles et les réjouissances publiques* (Paris: Bachelier, 1830). One notes that Ruggieri had professional insight into his subject, issuing from the famous Italian family of artificier, or firework makers. See: Simon Werrett, *Fireworks: Pyrotechnic Arts and Sciences in European History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), pp. 228-31, 241, 246.

## The Place of the Court

Serious interest in the study of festival can be attributed to two main developments: attention to the history of the court and scholarly awareness of historical – primarily iconographical – modes of thought. Awareness of fundamental differences in historical modes of thinking and reasoning were the basis of another key development in art history that informs the historiography of festival: the interpretations of Renaissance iconography that emerged from the work of Erwin Panofsky.[20] In terms of festival's study, this has meant identifying the level of meaning in events that transcended the literal to reveal their significance for contemporaries. In essence, this approach to the study of early modern spectacle and performance suggested a triangular relationship between the choice of narrative, the deployment of allegory and symbolism, and the needs of the political moment.

Take, for example, Frances Yates's seminal *Astraea*, which unpacked the myths the Elizabethan court created around itself. Yates, as a scholar of Renaissance hermetics and mnemonics, took seriously the meaning inherent in the recondite symbolism that adorned rituals, ceremonies and spectacles. The narratives chosen – and the roles allocated to the queen and her court – were tied to the political moment, and the very real anxieties that surrounded an unmarried, childless female ruler. Younger scholars trained at the Warburg Institute in London, where Yates was based for much of her career, emphasised the Classical inheritance of elite cultural forms in Europe.[21] This led to a more sophisticated understanding of the relationship between narrative, symbolic devices and the political moment. Margaret M. McGowan, a student of Yates, investigated the role of dance at the French court in the sixteenth century in *L'art du Ballet de Cour en France, 1581–1643.* In addition to considering the choice of narrative, and its meaningfulness, McGowan also dealt with who actually participated in

20 For Panofsky's attempts to historically situate modes of representation, see, for example: *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory*, trans. by Joseph J. S. Peake (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968); *Perspective as Symbolic Form*, trans. by Christopher S. Wood (New York: Zone, 1991); *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Views From the Outside: A Centennial Commemoration of Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968)*, ed. by Irving Lavin (Princeton, New Jersey: Institute for Advanced Study, 1995).

21 Frances Yates, *Aestraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Pimlico, 1993; first pub. 1975); Trapp, J. B., 'Yates, Dame Frances Amelia (1899–1981)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Online edition, 2004* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31863> [accessed 19 Sept. 2011].

the events, an issue that has been of fundamental importance in subsequent interrogations of court festival.[22]

The vital relationship between court festival and high politics was also at the heart of Sydney Angelo's work on spectacle and performance at the early Tudor court, which sought to establish the political imperative of key spectacular events, and made extensive use of archival evidence, most notably papers detailing expenditure by the Royal Household.[23] *Spectacle, Performance and early Tudor Policy* linked specific occasions to their immediate high-political narratives, demonstrating the utility of magnificence and display for early modern rulers. Notably, Anglo's work on the Field of Cloth of Gold, the meeting in 1520 between Henry VIII of England and Francis I of France, also contrasted representations of the occasion with the conflicting evidence of archival documentation. This highlighted the discrepancies between what actually happened during the event and how it was recorded, suggesting the extent to which occasions could be repackaged for posterity and absent audiences.

These studies of early modern festival dealt exclusively with elite activities, more specifically the spectacles and performances that took place at the court. Indeed, festival's viability as subject for scholarly enquiry is intimately related to the court's historiography.[24] Norbert Elias's *The Court Society*, first published in German in 1969, interrogated the court's conceptual functions by applying a sociological methodology to the past, in order to scrutinise the social interactions between the ruler and his or her most powerful subjects.[25] In this seminal work, the etiquette and ceremonial forms of behaviour that originated at the early modern court were identified as agents of civilisation and the modernization of society, attesting to Elias's broader interest in the 'civilising process' that he regarded as having crucial importance in the development of

22 Margaret M. McGowan, *L'art du ballet du cour en France, 1581-1643* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifque, 1978).

23 Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

24 For useful overview of the court's historiography, see: David Starkey, 'Court History in Perspective', *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. by D. Starkey (London and New York: Longman, 1987), pp.1-24.

25 Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, *The Collected Works of Norbert Elias*: Vol. 2, ed. by Stephen Mennell (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2006). Elias's introductory essay, 'Sociology and History', remains a crucial text in how individual actions can be used as evidence of wider social and cultural formations, but also, how these actions were, in part, formed by historical and sociological contexts, pp.3-38.

the centralised state in Europe.[26] Effectively, the early modern court was treated as a foreign country, with its own codes, systems and structures that the historian needed to grasp in order to properly interpret its customs.

As J.R. Mulryne and David Starkey have argued, court history was for many years a political hot potato, being 'more or less avoided by the politically correct in Western Europe and North America'.[27] The emergence of Court Studies as a separate discipline could be regarded as a corollary of the increasingly fragmented nature of historical practice and, in particular, the study of the early modern period. As Richard Cust and Ann Hughes write in their introduction to *The English Civil War*:

> In recent decades a variety of scholarship on the period, sometimes tagged 'revisionism', has made complicated a political story that was perhaps too simple, separating out different aspects of historical experience – economic, social, political, religious and cultural – which earlier work tended to connect together.[28]

As Starkey elaborates, in addition to academic studies of 'local history, the history of women, that of everyday life', this 'separating out' has resulted in the pursuit of 'more exotic blossoms…of which the history of aristocracy and royal courts are the most important.'[29] Major studies of European courts, as produced by Robert O. Bucholtz, John Adamson and Jeroen Duindam have revivified, nuanced and complicated the study of the lives of elites in Europe.[30] More recent studies have become ever more particularised, dealing with the specific characters and workings of individual courts, while initiatives, such as the *Society of Court Studies*, have encouraged further consideration of the wider social and cultural impacts of the most privileged people in society.

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26 Norbert Elias, *The Civilising Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, ed. by Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom and Stephen Mennell, trans. by Edmund Jephcott, rev. edn. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

27 J. R. Mulryne, 'Introduction: Where We Are Now', *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance*, ed. by J.R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp.1-12 (p.1).

28 Richard Cust and Ann Hughes, *The English Civil War* (London: Arnold, 1997), p.1.

29 David Starkey, 'Foreword', *The Stuart Courts*, ed. by Eveline Cruickshanks (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), p.xii.

30 R.O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford, California: Stanford California Press, 1993); John Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe, 1500-1750* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999); Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals, 1550-1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Jeroen Duindam, Tülay Artam and Metin Kunt (eds.), *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

As part of the scholarly rehabilitation of the court, festival has been redefined as an instrument of rule. Roy Strong's *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650*, an early effort in the field, made a strong case for the vital importance of magnificence and display, with rulers using spectacular events to express and reinforce the limits of their power.[31] In Mulryne's recent appraisal, 'Rulers were prepared to pay handsomely for what must have appeared, in time of weak or non-existent policing, a necessary instrument of social and political control.'[32] While Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly's work on festival literature has reiterated the international aspect of much festival activity, with official records of occasions communicating to other audiences- other courts- 'how mighty, how splendid, how cultured was the prince who could produce such a festival and how extensive were the artistic resources of his court.'[33]

Yet, it is debatable whether the study of court and aristocratic culture is the crucial development in contemporary historical practice. Likewise, it is not the only area of enquiry that has impacted on the study of urban festival. The historiography of popular culture is not the main thrust of this discussion, but its study in an historical context has undoubtedly shaped understanding of early modern festival, and has certainly informed the thinking behind this thesis.[34] Pioneering studies such as Peter Burke's *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* and Natalie Zemon Davies's *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* used a wider range of sources to engage with experiences and activities below the level of the elite.[35] In the intervening decades, scholars have revealed popular cultures, plural, and more significantly, teased out the vital links between so-called 'popular' and 'elite' cultural forms.[36] Robert M. Isherwood and Robert Darnton have

31 Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1984).

32 Mulryne, 'Where We Are Now', p.5.

33 Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'Early Modern Court Festivals – Politics and Performance, Event and Record', Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance, ed. by J.R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp.15-25 (p.23). See also: Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'The Early Modern Festival Book: Function and Form', *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festival in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by J. R. Mulryne, Margaret Shewring and Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, Vol. 1 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp.3-17.

34 For a complete account of the historiography of popular culture, see Tim Harris's recent excellent treatment of the subject: Tim Harris, 'Problematising Popular Culture', *Popular Culture in England, 1500-1850*, ed. by Tim Harris (London: Macmillan, 1995), pp.1-27.

35 Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Smith, 1978); Natalie Zemon Davies, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France,* 3rd edn (California: University of Stanford Press, 1996).

36 For recent treatments of aspects of early modern popular cultures, see: Ian Atherton, 'The Press and Popular Political Opinion', *A Companion to Stuart Britain*, ed. by Barry Coward (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp.88-110; Peter Burke, 'Popular Culture:

identified the similarities, as well as the differences, in the experiences of socially diverse consumers of popular entertainments in eighteenth-century Paris.[37] In England, studies of the post-Reformation festival calendar and the Declaration of Sports (1617), better known at the Book of Sports, have identified the state political capital associated with seemingly popular practices, such as bull baiting, bell ringing and bonfire building.[38]

Studies of municipal and civic practices have revealed a festival culture that could rival court spectacle in exuberance and extravagance. A case in point was Louis XIV's *entrée* into Paris on 26 August 1660. As an occasion, it had national and international importance, but as we will see below, it was funded by Paris and organised by representatives from the city's civic and municipal elites. This is not to suggest that civic and court festival activities were exclusive, but to acknowledge the existence of a broader set of practices, and to encourage discussion of the links between state and

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Between History and Ethnography', *Ethnologia Europaea*, 14 (1984), pp.5-8; Bob Clarke, *From Grub Street to Fleet Street: an Illustrated History of the English Newspaper to 1899* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Emma Griffin, 'Sports and celebrations in English market towns, 1660-1750', *Historical Research*, 75:188 (May 2002), pp.188-208; Emma Griffin, 'Popular Culture in Industrializing England', *The Historical Journal*, 45:3 (Sep., 2002), pp.619-35; Robert Muchembled, *Culture Populaire et Culture des Élites dans la France Moderne* (Paris: Flammarion, 1978); Sylvia M. Pinches, Maggie Whalley and David Postles (eds.), *The market place and the place of the market*, Friends of the Centre for English Local History (Leicester: Friends of the Centre for English Local History, 2004); David Postles, 'The market place as space in early modern England', Social History, 29:1 (Feb. 2004), pp.41-58; Barry Reay (ed.), *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1988); Barry Reay, *Popular Cultures in England 1550-1750* (London: Longman, 1998); Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Marie Evans in association with Gwynne Lewis (Leamington Spa, Hamburg and New York: Berg, 1987); Pat Rogers, 'The Maypole in the Strand: Pope and the Politics of Revelry', *British Journal for Eighteenth-century Studies*, 28:1 (2005), pp.83-96; E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture* (London: Merlin Press, 1991). For more about popular culture in Paris during the period, see: René Héron de Villefosse's *Les Grandes Heures de Paris. De l'aube des temps à l'ère industrielle* (Paris : Librarie Académique Perrin, 1978); Jean Farier, *Paris, deux milles ans d'histoire* (Paris : Fayard, 1997) ; Alfred Fierro, *Histoire et Dictionnaire de Paris* (Paris : Laffont, 1996) ; Robert Laffont, *Histoire de Paris et Parisiens* (Paris : Editions du Pont-Royal, 1957) ; Philippe Meyer, *Paris la Grande* (Paris : Flammarion, 1997) ; Marcel Poete, *La Promenade à Paris au XVIIe siècle* (Paris : Armand Collins, 1913) ; Andrew Trout, *Paris. City on the Seine* (New York : St. Martin's Press, 1996), and René Héron de Villefosse, *Nouvelle Histoire de Paris, Solennités, Fêtes et Réjouissances Parisiennes* (Paris : Hachette, 1980).

37 . Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1999); Robert M. Isherwood, *Farce and Fantasy: Popular Entertainment in Eighteenth-century Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Robert M. Isherwood, 'The Festivity of the Parisian Boulevards', *Edo and Paris: Urban Life and the State in the Early Modern Era*, ed. by James L. McClain, John M. Merriman and Ugawa Kaoru (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp.292-309.

38. David, Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1989); David Cressy, 'The Fifth of November Remembered', *Myths of the English*, ed. by Roy Porter (Cambridge: Polity, 1992), pp.68-90; David Cressy, 'God's Time, Rome's Time and the English Calendar of the English Protestant Regime', *Viator*, 34 (2003), pp.392-406; Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Ronald Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: a History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

civic institutions, as well as the full range of ideals that were invested in festival events. Recent treatments of civic and municipal culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have showed the range of ideals invested in public celebrations in London and York. Recent treatments of the subject, including contributions from Ian Archer, Tracy Hill and Phil Withington, have celebrated the vibrancy of civic events, while teasing out the necessary complexities in their relationship with urban and state festival culture.[39]

## Performative Turns: Audience, Performers and Locations

Subsequent generations of scholars have identified in court rituals and spectacles the essence of early modern political power, mining festival and its iconography for evidence of the relationship between power, social ritual and dominant ideology. The recognition of festival's political function must, in part, be ascribed to a performative turn in early modern scholarship. This saw the application of sociological and anthropological methodologies to the past, with the work of scholars as varied as Victor Turner, Michel Leiris, Clifford Geertz, Erving Goffman and John Austin encouraging historians to ask different kinds of questions of their sources.[40] In 'Performing History:

39 The following studies have enhanced immeasurably our understanding of the function of different facets of civic culture, nuancing the distinctions, and similarities, between definitions of 'civic' and 'urban' in the early modern period: Ian Archer, *Governors and Governed in Early Modern London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Ian Archer, 'The arts and acts of memorialisation in early modern London', *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720*, ed. by J.F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.89-113; Ian Archer, 'City and Court Connected: The Material Dimensions of Royal Ceremonial, ca. 1480-1640', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71:1 (2008), pp.157-79; J. Barry, 'Provincial Town Culture 1640-1780: Urbane or Civic?', *Interpretation and Cultural History*, ed. by Joan H. Pittock and Andrew Wear (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), pp.209-16; Michael Barry, 'Civic Ceremony in Early Modern London', *Urban History Yearbook* (1986), pp.15-27; Tracey Hill, *Pageantry and Power: A cultural history of the early modern Lord Mayor's Show, 1585-1639* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011); Lawrence E. Klein, 'The Polite Town: Shifting Possibilities of Urbanness, 1660-1715', *The Streets of London: From the Great Fire to the Great Stink*, ed. by Tim Hitchcock and Heather Shore (London: Rivers Oram, 2003), pp.27-39; Tessa Murdoch, 'The Lord Mayor's Procession of 1686: the Chariot of the Virgin Queen', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 34 (1983), pp.207-12; Charles Phythian-Adams, 'Ceremony and the Citizen: the Communal Year at Coventry, 1450-1550', *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700: Essays in Urban History*, ed. by Peter Clark and Paul Slack (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), pp.86-116; Sheila Williams, 'The Lord Mayor's Show: Peele to Settle', *Guildhall Miscellany*, 10 (1959), p.3-18; Phil Withington, 'Views from the Bridge: Revolution and Restoration in Seventeenth-Century York', *Past and Present*, 170 (Feb., 2001), pp.121-51; Phil Withington, 'Company and Sociability in early modern England', *Social History*, 32:3 (2007), pp.291-307; Phil Withington, 'Citizens, Soldiers and Urban Culture in Restoration England', *English Historical Review*, 123:502 (June 2008), pp. 587-610.

40 See, for example: Victor Turner, *Schism and Continuity in an African Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957); Michel Leiris, *La possession et ses aspects théatraux chex les Ethiopiens* (Paris: Plon, 1958); Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture* (New York: Harper, 1973); E.Goffman, *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life* (New York: Doubleday, 1959); J. Austin, *How to Do Things With Words* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).

The Importance of Occasions', Burke writes that the historical awareness of performance and performativity has implemented a 'shift from the assumption of social and cultural fixity to that of fluidity, from scripts to improvisation, from mentalities to habitus'.[41] Within this framework, politics has been reconsidered as a series of symbolic acts, with spectacle and performance absolutely crucial to realising the 'real' extents of power.

Stephen Orgel's hugely influential *The Illusion of Power*, published in 1975, applies the performative turn to the study of early seventeenth-century masque at the English court. It is worth dwelling on Orgel's findings at some length, as his work on the masque, and the scholarship it has generated, had considerable impact on thinking about the audiences, participants and locations in relation to festival. Where other accounts relegated masque to an historical cul-de-sac, as little more than an 'aristocractic knees up', Orgel forcefully argued that it represented and reinforced royal power:

> …a deep truth about monarchy was realized and embodied in action, and the monarchs were revealed in roles that expressed the strongest Renaissance beliefs about the nature of kingship, the obligations and prerequisites of royalty. Masques were game shows…they were for the court and about the court and their seriousness was indistinguishable from their recreative quality.[42]

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41 Peter Burke, 'Performing History: the Importance of Occasions', *Rethinking History*, 9:1 (March 2005), pp.35-52 (p.35).

42 'The masques were performed as part of Christmas festivities or else to celebrate some particular event- the investiture of the Prince of Wales or an important marriage…But at bottom the masque was always an elaborate frame for nothing more than an aristocratic knees-up.' David Lindley, 'Introduction' to Lindley (ed.) *The Court Masque* (Oxford, 1995), p.x; Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1975), p.8. For the other classic mid-century rehabilitations of early Stuart court masque, as a politically vital theatrical form, see: John Harris, Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart court: a quatercentenary exhibition held at the Banqueting House, Whitehall, from July 12 to September 2, 1973* (London: Arts Council, 1973); Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1991; first pub. 1975). One notes in both instances the emphasis placed on the contribution made by Inigo Jones, as part of a wider attempt to celebrate the cultural vitality of early seventeenth century England. Martin Butler's historiographical essay, 'Spectacles of state', part of his book-length treatment of masque, offers an extremely gratifying way into the occasionally bewildering world of early Stuart masque, and its scholarship: Martin Butler, 'Spectacles of State', *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.8-33. Good additions to the subject's historiography after Orgel and Strong include: David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (eds.), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); J. Leeds Barroll, Anna of Denmark, *Queen of England: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp.74-116; Barbara Ravelhofer, *The early Stuart Masque: dance, costume and music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Complement: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp.179-264.

To understand the specialised nature of masque culture, Orgel precisely located it within the complex of buildings that made up the Palace of Whitehall. While other performances took place in the court's dedicated theatre, The Cockpit, masque was on the same stage on which the monarch and his attendants performed the daily rituals of court- namely the Great Hall and later, the Banqueting House.[43] Though masque's content and narrative were often fantastical, its very real proximity to the centre of power invested it with great seriousness. Location wasn't the only factor: the identity of the audience and performers also mattered. Most obviously, the physical presence of the king made masque something out of the theatrical ordinary. Unlike the tawdry spectacle of a contemporary royal being hustled into his or her seat before a gala event, where the king sat during the masque had meaning.[44] In Orgel's influential formulation, Inigo Jones's use of perspectival scenery- a new innovation in England- was intended to assert the primacy of the king. His vantage point was deliberately designed to be the optimum point from which to experience the occasion's scenic apparatus.[45]

Like other forms of court festival, masques were performed before comparatively small audiences. The intimacy between place and performance was reiterated by the participation of audience members. While professional actors took the speaking roles in the antimasque, it was courtiers who executed the intricate and elaborate dances that made up the bulk of the second part of the performance.[46] This group included some of the most important people at the court. Although James I did not participate directly in performances at the English court, as a younger man he had taken part in masques in Scotland. Moreover, both his wife, Anne of Denmark, and eldest son, Henry, were enthusiastic masquers, while his younger son, Charles- later Charles I- danced in the court spectacles even once he was king.[47] Likewise later in the seventeenth century in

43 Orgel, *The Illusion of Power*, p.7; Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*, p.179.

44 Orgel, *The Illusion of Power*, pp.10-11.

45 ibid, p.14. See, also, Strong, *Art and Power*, pp.32-41.

46 Marie-Thérèse Bouquet-Boyer, 'The English Court Masque', *Spectaculum Europaeum: Theatre and Spectacle in Europe 1580-1750* (Wiesbaden: Harrossowicz, 1999), pp.531-33.

47 Butler, The Stuart Court Masque, p.1; David Lindley, 'The Politics of Chapman's The Memorable Masque', *The Stuart Courts*, ed. by Eveline Cruickshanks (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), pp.43-58 (p.44); Orgel, *The Illusion of Power*, pp.59-87.

France, Louis XIV, like his father, Louis XIII, was an enthusiastic participant in performances, and danced in court ballets.[48]

Early modern court spectacles weren't propaganda or communication media in the modern sense. However, their audiences were drawn from the social and political elites- the nobility, officials and magistrates, who 'sat in parliament and channelled royal authority into the realm at large'.[49] In Martin Butler's revisionist account of court masque, these events were 'an important point of contact between the crown and its political class, cementing their bonds of loyalty and outlook'.[50] The manufacture and circulation of festival literature extends the audience for ephemeral events, demonstrating that festival had meaning beyond the present moment of its performance. As Jean-Marie Apostolides has remarked about the function of court spectacular at Versailles, although the events were only witnessed by a relatively small audience of aristocrats, practitioners and servants, they were consumed by other, absent audiences in the form of commodified print 'afterlives':

> *La ville reçoit l'écho de la fête par les gazettes ou la rumeur publique; ceux qui le veulent en achètent une reproduction gravée par les artistes à la mode*.[51]

**In Focus: Festival in London and Paris**

These broad historiographical currents have shaped scholarly treatments of events in Paris and London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, which have displayed a pronounced tendency to emphasise elite activities, iconography and ideology. It must be noted, too, that studies of festival in Paris and London between 1660 and 1715 have been negatively defined. Celebrations in Paris have been

48 Joanna Norman, 'Baroque Art and Design for the Theatre', *Baroque: Style in the Age of Magnificene, 1620-1800*, ed. by Michael Snodin and Nigel Llewellyn, with the assistance of Joanna Norman (London: V&A, 2009), pp.142-65 (pp.153-4).

49 Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque*, p.2.

50 ibid. For more about masque's function as a form of couched political counsel, see: Martin Butler, 'Ben Jonson and the Limits of Courtly Panegyric', *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (London: Macmillan, 1994), pp.91-115.

51 'The town received the echo of the festival through the gazettes or public rumour; those who wanted to could buy an engraved reproduction by fashionable artists.' Jean-Marie Apostolides, *Le Roi-Machine. Spectacle et Politique au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris : Editions Minuit, 1981), p.150.

overshadowed by activities at Versailles, in particular, the magnificent fêtes held there in 1664, 1668 and 1674, while contemporary events in London have been compared, often unfavourably, with occasions in the sixteenth and earlier seventeenth century.

The study of festival in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Paris can be seen to stand between its own peculiar rock and hard place. On the one hard, public festival after 1660 has been found wanting by comparison with a rich tradition of civic pageantry in the fifteenth, sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. On the other hand, there is Versailles. In any attempt to explain this state of affairs, one faces the thorny issue of the French Revolution and its historiography.[52] To a great extent social, cultural and political developments at the end of the seventeenth century are read not as historically significant in their own right, but as presaging developments at the end of the eighteenth century. Interpretations of earlier festival culture have a similar trajectory, with emphasis on the vitally public dimension of Medieval and Renaissance state ceremonial used to excoriate remote court ritual at the palace of Versailles.

The implications of private, as opposed to public, ceremonial provide the main bone of contention in the work of Ralph E. Giesey and Laurence M. Bryant. Giesey's appraisal of kingship in early modern France is a lament for the loss of state and civic ceremonial played out in Paris's public places. Taking stock of the situation at the end of the seventeenth century, he adopts a somewhat misleading present tense:

> Gone are the traditional ceremonies that took place in the streets of the capital city, in cathedrals and in the high court, that is, in public. Everything now takes place in the royal palace, performed in the presence of courtiers.[53]

52 See, for example: Joseph Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France, 1580-1730* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009); Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1991); Keith Baker (ed.), *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture. Vol. 1: The Political Culture of the Old Regime* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1987); Dale K. Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996).

53 Ralph E. Giesey, 'Models of Rulership in French Royal Ceremonial', in Sean Wilentz ed., *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics Since the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), pp.41—64 (p.59). For more about sixteenth and early seventeenth-century ceremonial in France, see: Sarah Hawley, *The Lit de Justice of the Kings of France* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983); Richard Jackson, *Vive le Roi! A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984); *Théâtre et fêtes à Paris XVIe et XVIIe siècles. Dessin du Musée de Stockholm*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée Carnavalet, 1956).

Both here and in Bryant's *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony*, the distinction between sixteenth and late seventeenth-century festival, between 'before' and 'after' the reign of Louis XIV, is used to meditate upon the transformed meaning of kingship, with:

> …the changing focus and scale of the entry ceremony [taking] place as part of the Renaissance and early modern transformation of premises about authority, from centrality of law to that of the polity to that of absolute and personal power. [54]

From representing 'an ideal monarchical order', premised upon consensus, hierarchy and corporate responsibility, Bryant argues that the royal *entrée* is denigrated by becoming a showy celebration of 'the king's heroic and perfect character.'[55] Louis's entry in 1660 is framed as a case in point. The theme of peace and war, standard on such occasions, is used not to remind the king of his responsibilities- his duty to protect the state from internal and external threats- but to articulate 'the ruler's will to make either war or maintain peace.' Unpacking the occasion's iconography, Bryant concludes that, 'No virtue, personification, or institution defined the king's duty or obligation, since he had no duty other than to his own glory.'[56]

If public state occasions 'could no longer be made sufficiently splendid to serve such monarchical grandeur and mysticism', what then?[57] For both Giesey and Bryant, the nature of absolute kingship is enshrined in the increasingly outlandish codes of behaviour evident in Versailles by the end of the century. Giesey views this 'grand program of ritualized behaviour' as a new way of 'imagining' the king. Louis XIV, rather than represent the abstract virtues of the office of kingship, was rendered 'absolutely superior' in his own right. 'The exquisite refinement of manners provided the king with a pliable means of distributing or withholding favours from particular individuals', reinforcing, by means of the relationship between Louis and his courtiers, the same

54 Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry* (Geneva: Librarie Droz, 1986), pp.18-19.

55 ibid.

56 Ibid, pp.212-13. See also: Karl Mösender, *Zeremoniell und monumentale poesie. Die 'Entrée solonelle' Ludwigs XIV 1660 in Paris* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1983).

57 Ibid, pp.217-18.

omniscient royal will that provided the 1660 *entrée*'s agenda.[58] Significantly, Giesey's analysis conforms to the wider interests of French historiography, with the systematic ritualisation of manners at Versailles held to account for its contribution to 'the miserable decline of the French monarchy in January 1793':

> From the retrospective point of view…the deleterious effect of court society upon the viability of the French monarchy in the long run provides another sober reason for us to discover the particulars of its fixation during the years when it was rendered sedentary in Versailles.[59]

Louis XIV's body, as image, commodity and idea, is at the heart, too, of Peter Burke's *The Fabrication of the Louis XIV* and Jean-Marie Apostolides *Le Roi-Machine: Spectacle et Politique au Temps de Louis XIV*. Apostolides's 'roi-machine' evolves the standard medieval and early modern concept of the king's two bodies: the first, fallible, 'un corps de chair soumis aux mêmes contingences que celui de ses sujets; the second 'un corps symbolique qui ne meurt pas'.[60] In the course of Louis's reign, Apostolides postulates that the distance between the private and symbolic self is collapsed. Representations of the king, in spectacle, court ritual and the fine and decorative arts, work to actualise the acclamatory and allegorical framework built around Louis. He is no longer *like* a god: he is one, attaining a divinity-in-life that transcends the gross mechanics of 'la vie quotidienne' ['everyday life']:

> *Pour qu'un prince atteigne sa dimension de Roi, il droit sacrificer spectaculairement le premier, le corps privée et refuser les plaisirs ordinaires des hommes*.[61]

As in Bryant and Giesey, the absolute monarch was exalted by the rays of his own exquisite glory.

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58 Ralph E. Giesey, 'The King Imagined', in Keith Baker ed. *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture, Vol. 1: The Political Culture of the Old Régime* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1987), pp.41—59 (p.56). See also: Giesey 1985, pp.58-62. As Giesey is willing to acknowledge, this analysis of Louis's court at Versailles owes a great debt to: Elias, *The Court Society*, pp. 85-104.

59 Giesey 1987, p.58.

60 '…a body of flesh subject to the same hazards as his subjects' ; '…a symbolic body that never dies'. Apostolides 1981, p.11. The foundation text on the idea of the king's two bodies is, of course: Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, with a new preface by William Chester Jordan (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997; first pub. 1957).

61 'For a prince to achieve the dimensions of a king, he must first sacrifice spectacularly the private body and shun the ordinary pleasures of men.' Apostolides, *Le Roi-Machine*, p.153.

Burke's *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* is a far more satisfying and down to earth affair. Where Apostolides makes grand claims on the basis of little discernible primary evidence (by contrast, reference to twentieth-century theoretical texts abound), *Fabrication* is an impressive accumulation of contemporary literary and visual sources, reflecting the author's principal objective: to produce a study of the production, circulation, commodification and reception of 'the public image of the king'. As Burke states at the outset, his study is:

> …concerned with contemporary representations of Louis XIV, with his image as it was portrayed in stone, bronze, paint and even wax. It also deals with his 'image' in the metaphorical sense of the view of the king being projected by texts (poems, plays and histories), and by other media, such as ballets, operas, court rituals and other forms of spectacle.[62]

His broad-based and inclusive project permits discussion of festival activity in France beyond Versailles. In addition to discussing the king's *entrée* in 1660 and the *Grand Carousel* in 1662, Burke also shows that the installation across France of 'monuments to the king's glory', namely standing and equestrian statues, 'was itself an occasion for celebration.'[63] Paris witnessed the most elaborate of these affairs. In 1686, the unveiling of Martin Desjardin's 13 foot-high statue of the king in his coronation robes in Place des Victoires was marked with appropriate pomp and ceremony that included 'parades, speeches, salvos, music and fireworks.'[64] While on 13 August 1699, the inauguration of Girardon's equestrian statue in Place Louis-le-Grand was 'celebrated with as much fervor as a major victory', comprising a 'Temple of Glory' on the banks of the Seine and a magnificent display of fireworks.[65]

Both *Fabrication* and *Le Roi-Machine* broach the key issue of spectator response. Burke recognises that the king's image could be commodified and constructed so as to impact on the life of his subjects. While Apostolides is keenly aware of the barriers, literal and iconographical, between spectacle's codes of representation and its socially diverse spectators:

62 Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p.1.

63 Ibid, pp. 93-5.

64 Ibid, p.96.

65 Ibid. p.115.

*Les exclus n'ont pas accès au code de la représentation ; ils demeurent en dehors du corps du roi à l'extérieur de la nation ; ils forment le peuple spectateur de l'ordre nouveau qui se bâtit contre eux.*[66]

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While French scholarship emphasises the impact of Louis XIV and Versailles, the study of festival practices in England has been dominated by analysis of sixteenth and early seventeenth-century spectacle, with social and political historians, art and architectural historians and literary scholars paying more critical attention to Elizabethan progresses, pageantry and entertainments and to Jacobean and Caroline masque.[67] By contrast, satisfying accounts of late-seventeenth-century festival have been few and far

66 'The excluded did not have access to the representational code; they remained outside the king's body, on the periphery of the political nation ; they formed the spectactors of a new order that was built against them.' Apostolides 1981, p.8.

67 The literature on Elizabethan and early Stuart festival and court culture is vast. The following list is by no means definitive: David M. Bergeron, 'Charles I's Royal Entries into London, *Guildhall Miscellany*, 3:2 (April 1970), pp.91-97; David M. Bergeron, 'Representation in Renaissance English Civic Pageants, *Theatre Journal*, 40:3 (Oct., 1988), pp.319-31; David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642*, rev. edn (Arizona: Arizona State Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2003); Martin Butler, 'Ben Jonson and the Limits of Courtly Panegyric', in Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake ed., *Culture and Politics in early Stuart England* (Basingstoke, 1994), pp.91—115; Thomas N. Corns, *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1999); D.J. Gordon, 'Poet and Architect: the Intellectual Setting of the Quarell between Inigo Jones and Ben Jonson', in Stephen Orgel ed., *The Renaissance Imagination* (California, 1975); Alfred Harbage, *Cavalier Drama. An Historical and Cultural Supplement to the Study of the Elizabethan and Restoration Stage* (Oxford, 1936); John Harris, Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *The King's Arcadia* (London, 1975); Mervyn James, *Society, politics and culture: studies in early modern England* (Cambridge, 1986); James Knowles, 'The Spectacle of the Realm: Civic Consciousness, Rhetoric and Ritual in Early Modern London', *Theatre and Government under the early Stuarts*, ed. by J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.157-89; David Lindley (ed.), *The Court Masque* (Oxford, 1995); David Lindley, 'Courtly Play: The Politics of Chapman's "The Memorable Masque"',in Eveline Cruickshanks ed., *The Stuart Courts* (Stroud, 2002); Leah Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth* (Chicago, 1986); Richard C. McCoy, '"The wonderfull spectacle": the Civic Progress of Elizabeth I and the Troublesome Coronation', *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual,* ed. by J. M. Bak (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1990), pp.217-27; Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: the Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603-1642* (Manchester, 1981); Glyn Redworth*, The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Infanta* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003); Judith Richards, '"His Nowe Majestie" and the English Monarchy: The Kingship of Charles I before 1640', *Past and Present*, 113 (1986), pp.70-96; Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Complement* (Cambridge, 1987); P. Simpson and C.F. Bell, *Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques and Plays at Court*, Walpole Society XII (London, 1923—4); David L. Smith, Richard Strier, and David Bevington (eds.), T*he Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London, 1576-1649* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Public Ceremony and Royal Charisma: the English Royal Entry in London, 1485-1642, *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone*, ed. by A. L. Beier, David Cannadine and J. M. Rosenheim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp.65-93; R. Malcolm Smuts, *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture* (Cambridge, 1996); R. Malcolm Smuts, *Culture and Power in England, 1585-1685* (Basingstoke, 1999); R.C. Strong, 'The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth I', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21 (1958), pp.86-103; Roy Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986); Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque* (Cambridge, 1927).

between, discouraged by a long-held assumption that by the late Stuart period state ceremony was largely anachronistic. James Knowles, discussing 'Entries and Festivals in England' in *Spectaculum Europaeum,* includes the following catalogue of errors:

> After the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, festival culture never recovered from its interruption during the Commonwealth nor from Charles II's distaste for ceremonial imbibed during his years as an exile at the courts of Europe. Notable is the entry of Charles's bride, Catherine of Braganza, for her wedding in 1660, which was celebrated with a water festivity and fireworks display, the coronation of James II in 1685 and his bride, Mary of Modena, and the coronation of George II and Caroline of Hessen-Darmstadt in 1727.[68]

After 1660, it would seem that London's festival culture was impoverished. It is a depressing evaluation and entirely inconsistent with recent analyses and the wealth of available contemporary evidence. My experience of researching and writing about the state-sponsored fireworks displays held in London between 1660 and 1697 challenges, in its own small way, Knowles's claims. Systematic study of late seventeenth-century sources, including diaries, letters, newsbooks, pamphlets, state and civic legislation, court papers, printed images and the bill and minute books kept by the Office of Ordnance, revealed that eight major fireworks displays were held in the capital on important state occasions. These included three coronations, a royal birth, two major military victories and two royal birthdays.[69] Moreover, the short extract from Knowles's essay also features factual inaccuracies: Catherine of Braganza did not enter the capital in 1660. At this date, she was but one of a number of prospective brides suggested for the king. It wasn't until 23 August 1662 that the new queen finally arrived in London, when, to give Knowles his dues, this event was, indeed, the occasion of spectacular celebrations on the Thames.

Recently, Benjamin Klein, Neil Keeble and Lorraine Madway have convincingly argued against Knowles's findings by showing that English festival after the Restoration remained an effective political mechanism, while Hannah Smith has produced a revisionist account of Georgian kingship, stressing its popularity and dynamic self-

68 James Knowles, 'English Theatre 1570-1750', *Spectaculum Europaeum*, p.700.

69 Elaine Tierney, 'Playing with Fire: Fireworks and Public Festival in London, 1660-1697', V&A/RCA M.A. (unpublished) thesis (London, 2006).

presentation in urban and provincial communities.[70] It must, however, be noted that the study of the period after 1660 is decidedly patchy. While individual events, such as the coronations of Charles II and James II, have aroused scholarly interest, little attempt has been made to take account of the period as a whole, with the years after William III's invasion in 1688 particularly bereft of comment.[71]

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70 Hannah Smith, *Georgian Monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

71 Emphasis on the 1660s, 1670s and 1680s extends to general histories of the period, with studies of the reigns of Charles II and James II predominating. In the course of this project, the following texts have proved particularly useful and stimulating, and provided the necessary wider contexts for the celebrations discussed in the thesis: Susan D. Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky (eds.), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England: Essays Presented to David Underdown* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); Stephen B. Baxter (ed.), *England's Rise to Greatness* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983); Robert Beddard (ed.), *The Revolution of 1688* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); J.D.C. Clarke, *English Society 1688-1832. Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Regime*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985); Gary S. De Krey, *Restoration and Revolution in Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); J. A. W. Gunn, *Politics and the Public Interest in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1969); Paul D. Halliday, *Dismembering the Body Politic: Partisan Politics in England's Towns 1650-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Tim Harris, 'Propaganda and Public Opinion in Seventeenth-century England', M*edia and the Revolution: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by Jeremy D. Popkin (Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky, 1995), pp.48-73; Tim Harris, *Restoration: the Kingdoms of Charles II, 1660-1685* (Harmondsworth: Allen Lane, 2005); Tim Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1720* (Harmondsworth: Allen Lane, 2006); Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England c.1550-1640* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000); Derek Hirst, 'Bodies and Interests: Toleration and the Political Imagination in the Later Seventeenth Century', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 70:3 (2007), pp.401-26; Ronald Hutton, The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales 1658-1667 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis 1678-81* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Gerald MacLean (ed.), *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Alan Marshall, 'Colonel Thomas Blood and the Restoration Political Scene', *The Historical Journal*, 32:3 (Sep., 1989), pp.561-82; John Miller, *James II*, 3rd edn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978); John Miller, *The Restoration and the England of Charles II*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 1997); John Miller, *After the Civil Wars* (London: Longman, 2000); Michael Mullett, *James II and English Politics 1678-1688* (London: Routledge, 1994); Steven C. A. Pincus, *1688: the First Modern Revolution* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009); Stephen Porter (ed.), *London and the Civil Wars* (London: Macmillan, 1996); Lois G. Schwoerer, 'Celebrating the Glorious Revolution', *Albion*, 22:1 (1990), pp.1-20; Lois G. Schwoerer, 'The Glorious Revolution as Spectacle: A New Perspective', *England's Rise to Greatness, 1660-1763*, ed. by Stephen B. Baxter (Berkeley, California and London: University of California Press, 1983), pp.109-50; Jonathan Scott, 'Radicalism and Restoration: the Shape of the Stuart Experience', *History Journal*, XXXVI (1988), pp. 453-67; Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); W.A. Speck, *Reluctant Revolutionaries: Englishmen and the Revolution of 1688* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Kathleen Wilson, 'Inventing Revolution: 1688 and Eighteenth-century Popular Politics', *Journal of British Studies*, 28:4 (1989), pp.349-86; Austin Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution 1625-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). The period after 1688/89 has also received some scholarly attention, with contributions including: Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and early Georgian Britain* (London: Longman, 1993); Robert P. Maccubin, and Martha Hamilton-Phillips, *The Age of William and Mary: Power, Politics and Patronage, 1688-1702* (Williamsburg: The College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1989); Ester Mijers and David Omnekinde (eds.), *Redefining William III* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); John Miller, 'From the Restoration to the Hanovarians 1660-1714', *The Monarchy: Fifteen Hundred Years of British Tradition*, ed. by Robert Smith and John S. Moore (London: The Manorial Society, 1998), pp. 182-202; Richard Price, *British Society 1680-1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Craig Rose, *England in the 1690s: Revolution, Religion and War* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999).

The coronation of Charles II on 23 April 1661 was undeniably one of the key moments for England in the late seventeenth century. This judgement is reflected by the wealth of contemporary descriptions and secondary critical interpretation of the event and its importance. Its pomp and ceremony have been discussed as strategic measures, conveying to spectators that not only did this coronation mark the beginning of a new reign, it formalised the restoration of personal monarchy. While, deliberate references to older Elizabethan and Jacobean festival traditions have been interpreted as an attempt to whitewash the nation's recent past, namely twelve years of various forms of non-monarchical government.[72] Madway describes the coronation as 'one of the defining moments in Charles II's reign', arguing that it was an 'early effort [by] the monarchy to develop a language of kingship that would help it assert its power among the competing political forces of the Restoration.'[73] This enterprise was underpinned by tradition and allusion. As Reginald Maxwell Woolley remarks, the 1661 coronation ceremony was 'almost identical' to that of Charles I in 1625. And yet, outside the confines of Westminster Abbey, Charles II 'made sure he did not repeat his father's mistakes' by cancelling public festivities, an act which had caused 'disappointment and resentment among the people who felt they had been cheated [out] of an opportunity to look at and celebrate with their king.' Instead, by choosing to display himself to his subjects, the restored king's coronation hearkened back to those of Elizabeth I and James I.[74]

For Neil Keeble, deliberate splendour was, again, indicative of regime change, announcing that 'the king (and not merely another regime) was indeed come.'[75] Considered in this way, the lavish material culture of the coronation constituted a re-education in political behaviour. As Keeble continues:

> The theatricality of proceedings…situated onlookers in the position of subjects, spectators to be overawed by the lavish excess and magnificence

72 Harris, *Restoration*, p.5.

73 Lorraine Madway, ' "The Most Conspicuous Solemnity": The Coronation of Charles II', *The Stuart Courts*, ed. by Cruickshanks, pp.141-57 (p.142).

74 Reginald Maxwell Woolley, *Coronation Rites* (Cambridge, 1915), p.73; Madway, 'The Most Conspicuous Solemnity', pp.142—3; R. Malcolm Smuts, *Culture and Power in England 1585-1685*, p.136.

75 Neil Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), p.43.

> of royalty. Unlike the sober egalitarianism of republican formality, these celebrations insisted upon the difference between ruled and rulers.[76]

Keeble's analysis prompts a series of key questions that may be applied to public festival across the period. What was a given event intended to achieve? How did it achieve this end? And, most tellingly, how did this occasion attempt to engage with or obscure England's recent, troubled history?

Similar issues inform Carolyn A. Edie's highly original account of late Stuart coronation ceremonial. In this instance, objects are the focus as Edie uses the commodities generated by successive coronations, primarily printed sermons and commemorative medals, to ruminate on the continuities and discontinuities that arise from dynastic change. As in Keeble, the 1661 coronation is viewed as an attempt to reconnect spectators with the fundamental meaning of kingship. Laden with the trappings of royalty, it becomes 'an exercise in political theatre':

> …a great public celebration of the Restoration, a display of popular loyalty, zeal and enthusiasm designed to erase the unhappy memories of the last twenty years and to re-establish public confidence in the majesty and splendour of monarchy.[77]

As in Keeble and Madway, the coronation's conspicuous festivity is measured against recent history with ceremony and celebration attempting to turn back the clock, and efface the memory of years of civil war and Commonwealth.

And yet, publicly witnessed state ceremonial is only half the story. As the work of social historians of late seventeenth-century England have shown, London's Lord Mayor, corporate government, guilds and local government were also responsible for promoting festive behaviour, participating in elaborate civic processions, providing the public with beer and wine, supervising the construction of celebratory bonfires and ensuring that the city's bells rang out on special days. In the introduction to *Londonopolis*, an edited collection of essays about life in early modern London, Paul

76 Ibid.

77 Carolyn A. Edie, 'The Public Face of Royal Ritual: Sermons, Medals, and Civic Ceremony in Later Stuart Coronations', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 53 (1990), p.313.

Griffiths and Mark S. R. Jenner have argued for the continued importance of civic culture, even as new forms of political assembly emerged:

> Recent works…[have] revealed that joint stock companies and nascent political parties did not simply supplement other older cultural forms. Guilds, apprenticeships, wardmotes and other aspects of specifically civic culture remained important in London life long into the eighteenth century. They coexisted with and adapted to newer patterns of metropolitan living.[78]

In terms of civic festival culture, it certainly seems that the Lord Mayor's Show, held annually on 28 October, the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude, became increasingly elaborate after the Restoration in 1660. Significantly, John Patrick Montaño and Benjamin Klein have taken very different stances on this development. In Montaño's estimation, the Lord Mayor's Show 'began to promote government propaganda' after Charles II and the court attended the event on a regular basis. As such, this civic occasion is read as 'an oral and emblematic version of government policy [brought] onto the streets for the ideological consumption of the London populace.'[79] By contrast, Klein's extended timeframe allows discussion of the so-called 'Whig Shows', which challenge Montaño's assertion of the Lord Mayor's Show's loyalist agenda. Moreover, as both Klein and Peter Burke remark, several of the later Lord Mayor Shows were devised by Elkannah Settle- the man credited with designing the staunchly Whig Pope-burning Processions.[80]

David Cressy and Ronald Hutton have dwelt on the less showy aspects of London's festival culture, eschewing the one-off event, and celebrating, instead, the local and seasonal. Cressy's *Bonfires and Bells* is a wonderfully rewarding 'archaeology' of the English calendar, showing how Catholic holy days and 'pre-Christian seasonal observances' were assimilated into 'a new national, secular and dynastic calendar' after

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78 Paul Griffiths and Mark S.R. Jenner, 'Introduction', *Londonopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. Griffiths and Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p.3.

79 John Patrick Montaño, 'The Quest for Consensus: the Lord Mayor's Day Shows in the 1670s', *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration,* ed. by Gerald MacLean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.31-51 (p.31).

80 Cressy 1989, p.11; John Patrick Montaño, 'The Quest for Consensus', p.31; Benjamin Klein, ' "Between the Bums and the Bellies of the Multitude": Civic Pageantry and the Problem of the Audience in Late Stuart London', *London Journal*, 17 (1992), pp.18-62. See also: David Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642* (London, 1971); Michael Berlin, 'Civic Ceremony in Early Modern London', *Urban History Yearbook* (1986), pp. 15-27; Eric Halfpenny, 'The Cities Loyalty Display'd', *Guildhall Miscellany*, 10 (1959), pp.19-35; Tessa Murdoch, 'The Lord Mayor's Procession of 1686: the chariot of the Virgin Queen', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 34 (1983), pp.207-212.

the Reformation.[81] Similarly, Hutton's *The Rise and Fall of Merry England* is concerned with 'those annual festivals which were celebrated regionally or nationally, with public rituals or customary pastimes', examining 'how this calendar of activities altered under the impact of successive religious, political, and social changes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.'[82]

That such public rituals and customary pastimes were coordinated centrally was indicative of their political utility. In Cressy's forceful argument, bonfires, bells and the provision of alcohol were 'orchestrated' on important days in the Protestant political calendar, such as Crownation Day (23 April), Gunpowder Treason (5 November) and Royal Oak Day (29 May), which had their 'origin in the high politics of Whitehall and Westminster.'[83] Appraisals of 'popular culture' in late seventeenth-century London have also broached the issue of politics out-of-doors, public opinion and 'the crowd'. In Tim Harris's 'Perceptions of the Crowd in Later Stuart London', the late seventeenth-century crowd is shown to be a creature of context. By tracing the fortunes of lawless rabbles and righteous bands of brothers through the political print culture of the period, Harris explains the 'schizophrenic attitudes' of contemporaries towards crowd activity, concluding that, 'We can often find the same people both condemning and praising the very same type of crowd activity.'[84] This argument is framed within the fluid and fiercely polarised political culture of late seventeenth-century England. By discussing Whigs and Tories and their use of print media, Harris demonstrates that disruptive crowd behaviour was invariably attributed to the 'other side'. Unsurprisingly, great efforts were made to 'represent one's own supporters as acting in an orderly and respectable way.' This wider social-political context matters to festival culture in two respects: firstly, that the political nation was characterised by competing and conflicting interests; and, secondly, it shows that attempts were made to court public opinion-out-of-doors: 'to encourage demonstrations or other manifestations of support for one's side amongst the population at large.'[85]

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81 Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, pp. xi, xii.

82 Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p.1.

83 Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, p.xiv.

84 Tim Harris, 'Perceptions of the Crowd in later Stuart London', in J.F. Merritt ed., *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.250-72 (p.254).

85 Ibid, pp.254, 264, 265-66, 269.

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The study of festival in Paris and London between 1660 and 1715 has been shaped by the emphasis placed on iconographical and ideological understanding of events, the activities of the court, and the 'performative turn' in the study of history. More notably, events have been framed as special moments with huge political significance, as scholars have attempted to tease out the links between the occasion's choice of narrative, its iconographical design and the needs of the political moment. Wider cultural and political contexts have also shaped treatments of civic and non-official festivity, which have understood celebratory activities, such as bonfire building and bell ringing, as on-the-street manifestations of 'high politics' and affairs of state. By contrast, few efforts have been made to engage with the explicit focus of this dissertation: namely, the design processes and project management that underpinned the production of the actual events, both in the form of performances and representations.

**Interdisiciplinarity**

The final historiographical issue considered is the impact of interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary methodologies on the study of festival. Distinguishing between iconographic, performative and literary approaches to the study of festival could be regarded as an artificial division. In his introduction to *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance*, Mulryne remarks that, 'Study of the festival culture of Early Modern Europe has become something of a growth area', with the increased emphasis in the humanities on interdisciplinary studies identified as one of the factors that contributed to this 'growth spurt'. [86]

The eclectic nature of festival as subject matter informed the origins in conferences or longer-term research projects of many of the edited collections of books. *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance* was the permanent record of an 'international and interdisciplinary' conference held at Castelvecchio Pascoli, near Lucca, in September 2000. Likewise, the substantial *Spectaculum Europaeum: Theatre and Spectacle in*

86 Mulryne, 'Where We Are Now', p.1.

*Europe 1580-1750*, edited by Pierre Bèhar and Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, was the outcome of a conference held at the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance at Tours in 1989.[87] More recently, the AHRB-funded *Centre for the Study of Renaissance Elites and Court Cultures* (University of Warwick) produced a two-volume publication, *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festival in Early Modern Europe*.[88] In turn, this research project had been the outcome of another conference held at Warwick in 1992, which also resulted in an edited volume of essays, *Italian Festivals and their European Influence*.[89]

Interdisciplinarity in festival studies can hardly be accounted an entirely new development. One of the pioneering efforts in the field, *Fêtes de la Renaissance*, edited by Jean Jacquot, brought together scholars with cross-disciplinary expertise, and demonstrated the existence of a pan-European festival culture.[90] However, more recent studies, such as those cited above, have refined both strands of this approach, bringing together a wider range of subject expertise and treating early modern festival as a truly global phenomenon. The content of individual volumes attests to efforts made to challenge the boundaries between academic disciplines. All three edited volumes, as cited above, included contributions from historians of art, architecture and design, music and literary scholars and, to a lesser extent, social, cultural and political historians. Such broad-based expertise could be seen to reflect the reality of early modern festival as collaborative, multimedia and unrelentingly hybrid. In Watanabe-O'Kelly's introduction to *Spectaculum Europaeum*, she argues that festival studies needs to be a cross-disciplinary, open-ended and discursive enterprise:

> It became clear during informal discussions between the participants how much could be learned about various theatrical forms in the early modern period if only scholars could transcend boundaries between the various disciplines and national traditions.[91]

87 Watanabe-O'Kelly and Bèhar, *Spectaculum Europaeum*.

88 Mulryne, Goldring and Watanabe-O'Kelly (eds.), *Europa Triumphans.*

89 J.R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (eds.), *Italian Festivals and their European Influence* (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: Edwin Mellon, 1992).

90 Jean Jacquot (ed.), *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, 3 vols. (Paris: Éditions de C.N.R.S., 1956-75).

91 Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'Introduction', *Spectaculum Europaeum*.

The reader of recent edited volumes is reminded that early modern festival was truly global, affecting territories as far a field as Italy, France, the Iberian Peninsula, England, Russia, Poland-Lithuania, the Holy Roman Empire, the Netherlands, Scandinavia (Norway, Denmark and Sweden) and, in a groundbreaking addition to *Europa Triumphans*, Mexico and Peru. This international dimension was a factor, too, in recent exhibition projects. Most notably, the Victoria & Albert Museum's major exhibition *Baroque: Style in the Age of Magnificence 1620-1800* treated the Baroque as the first truly global design style - an approach that informed the handling of issues of spectacle and performance in the theatre and opera house, city square and in relation to religious ceremonial.[92]

The study of festival has greatly enhanced our understanding of the power structures that bound together early modern society; historical modes of thought; and the collaborative, multimedia nature of spectacles and performances. However, the privileged position of text as evidence has limited the scope of the work produced by scholars of early modern festival. Edited volumes and monographs alike have focussed on the most prestigious spectacles and performances, which have tended to generate the most substantial paper trails. Large-scale, expensive events, such as those held to mark important days of occasion, were commemorated in printed and manuscript festival books, painted and printed visual representations and music scores. These were often as magnificent as the events they chronicled and were produced to disseminate the themes and performances that had been carefully devised for a celebration to absent audiences, both at home and abroad.

In spite of claims of interdisciplinarity, it is also worth noting that a significant number of the scholars involved in coordinating major interdisciplinary projects have academic backgrounds in departments of theatre studies, literature and comparative literature. Take, for example, the Steering Group, who directed the *Europa Triumphans* Research Project. In total, thirteen scholars were on this panel, with seven attached to scholarly disciplines that specialise in the use of literary texts as sources.[93] This is not to deny the

92 Joanna Norman, Elaine Tierney and Nigel Llewellyn, 'Performance and Performativity', *Baroque: Style in the Age of Magnificence 1620-1800*, ed. by Nigel Llewellyn and Michael Snodin (London: V&A Publishing, 2009), pp.142-203.

93 Those members of the Steering Group with positions in departments of literature, theatre studies and comparative literature were: J.R. Mulryne, a scholar of Shakespeare and Renaissance drama, and Professor Emeritus at the University of Warwick; Helen

validity of the work these scholars have produced, or to sideline the sterling work of colleagues from other disciplines, but to suggest the extent to which festival has been treated as a form of literary text.

In July 2010, the University of Edinburgh hosted the conference *Re-creating Renaissance and Baroque Spectacle: The Hispanic Habsburg Dynasty in Context*. The event's principal objectives highlighted the strengths and weaknesses of current appraisals of early modern festival. As in recent edited volumes, the conference brought together scholars from different disciplines who worked on 'the costly and elaborate events' that reinforced and represented the 'relations between ruler and ruled'.[94] The conference's Call for Papers highlighted many of the issues already considered in this introduction. Scholars of early modern festivity are described as being united by their shared interest in politics and representation.[95] The events are seen to create, reiterate and represent early modern power structures, with printed and manuscript festival books and chronicles deemed to play a 'critical role' in the 'dissemination of political propaganda and in highlighting the achievements of participants.'[96] Early modern festival is treated as global, multimedia, and best served by interdisciplinary study:

> The study of festivals is…challenging: musicians, music and drama historians, historians, art and architectural historians amongst other disciplines have traditionally been interested in the study of these events. Nonetheless, is it possible to comprehend a multimedia spectacle from the point of view of solely one discipline? [97]

The performative is emphasised, with the conference and network coordinators nuancing their interpretation of power relationships, questioning the effectiveness of

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Watanabe-O'Kelly, Professor in the German Literature Department at the University of Oxford; Margaret M. McGowan, Research Professor in French at the University of Sussex; Mara Wade, Professor of German Language and Literature and Comparative and World Literature at the University of Illinois; Peter Davidson, Professor of English Literature at the University of Aberdeen; Margaret Shewring, a scholar in the Theatre Studies department at the University of Warwick; and Marie-Claude Canova-Green, a scholar in the department of Comparative Literature in Goldsmiths' University.

94 *Re-creating Renaissance and Baroque Spectacle: The Hyspanic Habsburgh Dynasty in Context Conference*, University of Edinburgh, 6-7 July 2010, Call for Papers, 29 January 2010.

95 ibid.

96 Ibid.

97 *Re-creating Early Modern Festivals Project* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh [2011]), http://www.recreatingearlymodernfestivals.com/index.htm [accessed 20 September 2011]. This is the online mission statement of the International Network for the Study of Early Modern Festival, one of the major permanent outcomes of the conference.

the events as unproblematic '[r]epresentations of power'.[98] Instead, spectacles, by virtue of being performances, are regarded as being more akin to compromises due to their reliance upon 'words, images and gestures' to mediate their political message.[99] Acknowledgement is made of the ambiguities inherent in the reception of events, which didn't merely function as a unilateral form of communication, but were required to accommodate a range of perspectives by responding to the 'demands and desires of the ruled, as well as…the ruler.'[100]

The logical endpoint of this approach to early modern festival is best illustrated by an online exhibition showcased on the International Network for the Study of Early Modern Festival's website. This deals with aspects of three events: the royal entry of Henri II and Catherine de Medici into Rouen in 1550; the triumphal entry of Philip II of Spain into Lisbon in 1581, and Charles I's entry into Edinburgh in 1633.[101] The use of digital presentation constitutes a highly innovative solution to some of the challenges inherent in attempts to recreate historical performances. After all, these were events with spatial and temporal dimensions, and were devised, in part, as a form of experiential design, using scale, materials, sound, including music, light, smell and taste to make an impact on the senses of those present.

The first exhibit, a 'reconstruction' of the city of Lisbon on 29 June 1581, the occasion of Felipe II of Spain's triumphal entry, was produced by the conference's chief convenor, Laura Fernandez-Gonzalez, a doctoral candidate in Architecture at the University of Edinburgh.[102] By comparing descriptions of the event 'in the chronicles and archival material spread in diverse repositories', the study 'reconstructs this multimedia event and the ephemeral structures described in the sources.'[103] Fernandez-Gonzales comfortably situates her efforts within conceptual and methodological limits set by the existing scholarship on festival by identifying the event's political moment – Felipe II of

98 ibid.

99 ibid.

100 ibid.

101 'Online Exhibition', *Recreating Early Modern Festivals Project* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, [2011]), http://www.recreatingearlymodernfestivals.com/exhibition.htm [accessed 20 September 2011].

102 'Online Exhibition: Laura Gonzales-Fernandez', Recreating Early Modern Festivals Project (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh), http://www.recreatingearlymodernfestivals.com/exhibition_laura.htm# [accessed 10 June 2011].

103 ibid.

Spain's recent successes in the Portuguese campaigns – and the ideological programme that was chosen as most fitting, in this instance the tradition of Erasmus's *Institutio Princips Christiani.* While in Fernandez-Gonzales's own words, her study is situated as an attempt, 'to shed new light onto the symbolism behind the art display and the interaction of elements involved in the entry: power, rendition, privileges, nobility, popular traditions and a new order imposed by a newly-crowned king'.[104]

Fernadez-Gonzalez's digital presentation of Felipe's entry into Lisbon in 1581 is a curious experience. **(Fig.3.)** One cannot be but impressed by the technology at the scholar's disposal, which helps put the event in its spatial context by giving a strong impression of where the event's temporary architecture was placed in relation to the permanent urban landscape. Yet, there is something compellingly soulless in this remaking of Felipe's triumphal entry. Rather than evoke the fragmentary, plural and experiential, this version of the event is notable for the absence of people, and the spotlessly clean, uniform presentation of the city's buildings and landmarks. Similarly, the virtual spectator glides through the occasion's triumphal arches, unencumbered by obstacles or other people. Even the musical accompaniment is too perfect: its consistent audibility recalling the music piped into elevators or supermarket aisles.

Arguably, Fernandez-Gonzalez's digital reimagining of Felipe's triumphal entry in 1581 is the logical endpoint of festival studies, as outlined above. It provides a vision of the ideal celebratory city that is devoid of people, mess and congestion, where there is nothing to distract from the event's iconography and ideology. Notably, it is a version of events as informed by the evidence of festival books and official chronicles: in effect, it could be seen to constitute a repackaging of the already repackaged occasion. This is not to deny the value of Fernandez-Gonzalez's spatial analysis, or to completely dismiss iconographical or ideological readings of early modern festival, but to argue for an approach to events that acknowledges the fragmentary and plural.

104 ibid.

## The Ideal Celebratory City

The notion of the ideal celebratory city has been reinforced and reiterated by much scholarship generated by festival. This body of work has emphasised the abstract and intellectualised aspects of occasions, fixating on the ideological programmes that underpinned their design. Privileging ideological and narrative content has created imbalances in the study of these occasions. Most notably, unpacking symbolic and allegorical modes of presentation has been granted particular importance, often at the cost of practical issues of construction and design. This, in turn, has impacted on the types of audiences, locations and performances that have become the main focus for festival's commentators.

Treatments of festival have also tended to stress the poets, painters, sculptors and architects that were involved in creating an occasion's iconographical programme, with the most canonical artists generating the most detailed analysis. It is an approach that is best exemplified by accounts of Peter Paul Rubens's designs for the triumphal arches and other scenic apparatus that were made for the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand's Joyous Entry into Antwerp on 17 April 1635.[105] The event was documented for posterity as a festival book, *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, a title often used as shorthand for the event itself, which comprised a text in Latin by Jean Gaspard Gevaerts and illustrative plates by Theodoor van Thulden after drawings by the artist.[106] Rubens's preparatory oil sketches of the arches have been mined for evidence of the event's highly politicised allegory, or contextualised by reference to the artist's stylistic development.[107] Similarly, although Christophe Frank's account of the triumphal architecture built for Louis XIV's *entrée* in to Paris in 1660 makes use of documents considered in this thesis,

105 'Biography: the Life of Peter Paul Rubens: Highlights', *Rubens, A Genius at Work: the Works of Peter Paul Rubens in the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium Reconsidered,* ed. by Joost Vander Auwer et al (Tielt: Lannoo, 2007), p. 284.

106 Joannes Casparus Gevartius, *Pompa introitus honore…Ferdinandi Austriaci…S.R.E. Card…a S.P.Q.Antverp decreta et adornata, cum mox a noblissim ad Norlingam parta Victoria, Antverpiam…adventu suo bearet; 15 Kal. Maii. Ann. 1635. Arcus, Pegmata, Iconesque a P.P. Rubenio…inventas et delineates inscriptionibus et elogiis ornabat, libroque commentario illustrabat C.G. …Accessit Laurea Calloana ab eodem auctore descripta Antverpiae veneunt exemplaria apud T.a Tulden qui iconum tabulas ex archetypes Rubenianis delineavit et sculpsit* (Antwerp, 1641).

107 John Rupert Martin, *The Decorations for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (London and New York: Phaidon, 1972); Sabine van Sprang, 'The Decorations for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi in Antwerp (1635)', *Rubens, a Genius at Work: The Works of Peter Paul Rubens in the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium Reconsidered*, Joost Vander Auwera et al (Tielt: Lannoo, 2007), pp.239-49.

he does so to very different effect. Where my principal interest is in the processes of design and project management that made major urban festivals possible, Frank frames the very same source material within a traditional art historical discourse in an attempt to attribute 'authorship' of the individual structures.[108]

By comparison, scholars have tended to be less assured in their appraisal of the more practical matters of design and construction. To date, few studies have grappled with issues of scale or the materials and processes that were used in order to make the structures. Recent exceptions have included Margit Thøfner on the design of the Joyous Entry ceremony in the Southern Netherlands in the sixteenth century; Christine Stevenson on the scale and construction of occasional architecture in seventeenth-century in London; and Eric Monin's analysis of the theatricality of French festival design in the late eighteenth century.[109] Thøfner's study of civic events in Antwerp and Brussels offers some useful remarks about what happened during the period of preparation before events, while Monin and Stevenson engage with the materiality and construction of occasional architecture, placing particular emphasis on the speed with which structures could be built and their transformative impact on the urban landscape.

This dissertation offers more thoroughgoing analysis of the processes of design, production and project management that made festival possible. As we will see, London and Paris were actively transformed through the addition of designed and constructed entities, and through the excision of unwanted matter, most notably filth and ordure, disorderly crowds and traffic congestion. To return to the episodes this chapter opened with, Pepys and Evelyn described occasions where celebratory actions were used to mark the most remarkable of events, the restoration of an exiled monarch and his

108 Christophe Frank, 'Les artistes de l'entrée de Louis XIV en 1600', *Bulletin de la Societé de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1989), pp.53-74.

109 Margit Thøfner, 'Marrying the City, Mothering the Country: Gender and Visual Conventions in Johannes Bochius's account of the Joyous Entry of the Archduke Albert and Infanta Isabella into Antwerp', *Oxford Art Journal*, 22.1 (1999), pp.1-27; Margit Thøfner, *A Common Art: Ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2007); Christine Stevenson, 'Occasional Architecture in Seventeenth-Century London', *Architectural History*, vol.49 (2006), pp.35-74; Eric Monin, 'The Construction of Fantasy. Ephemeral Structures and Urban Celebrations in France during the Eighteenth Century', *Proceedings of the First International Congress on Construction History, Madrid, 20-24 January 2003* (Madrid: Instituto Juan de Herrera, 2003), pp.1475-87; Eric Monin, 'L'espace de l'artifice', *De l'Esprit des Villes, 1720-1770. Nancy et l'Europe urbaine en Siècle des Lumieres*, exh. catalogue (Nancy: Editions Artlys, 2005), pp.196-201; Eric Monin, 'The Speculative Challenges of Festival Architecture in Eighteenth-Century France', *Festival Architecture*, ed. by Sarah Bonnemaison and Christine Macy (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), pp.155-80.

coronation the following year. In both instance, it mattered that improvements were made to the appearance of the city and those who were present, with the performance of festival facilitating the creation of an ideal celebratory city. It is this practice – enhancement of urban space – that underpins the idea of the ideal celebratory city, a concept that forms the crux of this thesis. The following discussion establishes what this idealisation of urban space meant for those who organised, participated in and witnessed festival in the early modern period.

Festival activity in its many forms can be reconceptualised as a deliberate incursion into an existing place that has other overlapping identities. It is worth dwelling momentarily on the categories of people who might have attended an event. They were a diverse group, comprising spectators, performers and the various personnel who were in charge of overseeing the production of the events. The audience was composed of local, national and international elements. Producing a guest list was almost the first act undertaken by the committee in charge of organising politically imperative events like the coronation.[110] These lists did not detail all the people present at an event by name, but included details of who participated in the coronation procession. Participants included members of the nobility, who were referred to by their titles, representatives from civic and state government and the Church, and holders of honorific positions, such as the Barons of the Cinque Ports. The latter hailed from five key coastal towns on the south coast and were staunch defenders of their privilege to carry the canopy covering the monarch's head.[111]

And yet, it would be misguided to judge the embellishments that were made as little more than aesthetic embellishments. As contemporary documentation demonstrates, these actions were imbued with meaning, as participants and performers sought to transform the early modern city into a place that was suitable to accommodate the most solemn occasions. The notion that festival constituted a form of active idealisation is most apparent in two kinds of evidence: the legislation that directed preparations and

110 See, for example: *Sir Edward Walker, A Circumstantial Account of the Preparations for the Coronation of His Majesty King Charles II...From an Original Manuscript by Sir Edward Walker, Knight...* (London: T.Baker, 1820), pp.35-42.

111 Tessa Murdoch, 'A silver-gilt cup commemorating the coronation of James II and the culture of gifts and prerequisites in Stuart and Hanovarian coronations', *V&A Online Journal*, 2 (Autumn 2009), http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/journals/research-journal/issue-02/a-silver-gilt-cup-commemorating-the-coronation-of-james-ii/ [accessed 10 September 2011].

the festival literature that recorded the same events for posterity, which will be discussed at length in Section III of the thesis. Both types of text stressed the high level of emotional investment that was expected, with organisers, participants, personnel and spectators expected to react and behave in ways that honoured the special occasion.

Let us consider momentarily the proclamations issued by state and civic institutions in London, which were characterised by reverence of tone. Most notably, a successful public celebration was one that had been coordinated in a seemly and decorous fashion. In 1661, the Lord Mayor issued a series of directives in the weeks before the coronation. Crucially many of these legislative statements framed the correct execution of an event as a demonstration of loyalty and affection towards the king. The 'companyes of this Citty' were compelled to erect their 'Rayles Baniere & other silk workes together with those other ornaments' in preparation for Charles's procession through the city 'for the better manifestation of the good affeccions' London felt for its newly returned king.[112] The intimate association between competence and decorum was underscored in the proclamation's final command, where its readers and auditors were addressed in uncompromising terms, '…hereof fayle you not as you tender the solemnity of his Ma[jes]tyes passage & the honour of this Citty'.[113]

With regards to language and content, this proclamation was typical of the kinds of civic exhortations issued before events. More unusually, another mayoral proclamation issued before the coronation effectively anthropomorphised the city by complaining that 'several penthouses signes & posts do much deforme the streetes of London', before commanding that these eyesores were removed.[114] It was an active attempt to perfect the urban environment, as confirmed by a reference in the same document to the teams of workers that were charged with 'dayly attending to the straightenenigne [sic] of the said streetes through which his ma[jes]tye & the nobility are to passe'.[115]

In November 1662, the king requested the company of the Lord Mayor, the aldermen and 'five hundred citizens on horsebacke' to greet the Russian Ambassador on his

112 LMA, London, COL/CC/01/01/43, r.101.

113 ibid.

114 LMA, London, COL/CC/01/01/43, v.101.

115 ibid.

arrival in England at Tower Wharf. The ambassador's status as a '[p[er]son of great quality' demanded he was met with all the pomp and circumstance owed to someone of his rank, with the aldermen duty-bound to appear 'app[er]elled in velvet coates with Chaines of Gold well mounted on horseback and to ride thence to Tower Wharfe in comely and decent order'.[116] Once again, conduct and deportment were equated with loyal service, as engineering a suitably decorous welcome for a foreign embassy were for 'the honour of his Ma[jes]ty and this Citty'.[117]

The phrasing of proclamations issued before annual events, such as Gunpowder Treason Day on 5 November, also equated careful planning and execution with the fulfilment of civic ideals. In November 1664, an ordinance issued by the mayor bemoaned the wildness and disorder that had come to characterise celebrations in London. Rowdy elements roamed the streets causing trouble by drinking and abuse of innocent passersby. '[S]quibbs & other fireworkes' were thrown 'into coaches & upon Persons passing by and through the Streetes and Lanes of this City', while especially 'rude disorderly people' co-opted one of the signifiers of official festivity, the bonfire, by stopping 'persons in their lawfull passage & so demand and affright them' into making contributions of money. All of which was to 'the great Scandall & dishoner' of the city and its citizens.[118]

Similarly, in October 1671 the mayor issued instructions before Lord Mayor's Day, another event that took place on the same date every year, 28 October, which before the Reformation had been celebrated as the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude. It was a well-honed litany of instructions: the processional route was to be kept clear of carriages, coaches and carts; the streets were to cleaned; throwing fireworks was prohibited, and householders were to keep a close eye on the behaviour of their children and servants. The potential for violence was also present in a reference to the activities of 'vagrants' and 'idle p[er]sons', who were described as passing 'through the streets…with cudgells in their hands', looking for trouble.[119] Those who kept within the letter of the law could be seen to actively endorse the event, as they were 'aideing and assisting to Defend the

116 LMA, London, COL/CC/01/01/044, v.247.

117 ibid.

118 LMA, London, COL/CC/01/01/44, v.7.

119 LMA, London, COL/CC/01/01/045, r.150.

Shewes [the Lord Mayor's show]…soe they may be p[er]formered in the manner as may be for the honour & grace of this Citty'.[120]

Where previous studies of festival have approached the celebratory city through its rhetoric, in festival books and legislation, this dissertation will be the most thoroughgoing analysis of the practical processes of project management, design and construction that informed the organisation and realisation of events, and by extension the ideal celebratory city. Likewise, where other studies have declared that festival was a collaborative, multimedia enterprise: this dissertation shows it, considering the diverse personnel and personalities that were involved at every stage in the production of the event.

In part, this is a question of evidence. Rather than privilege the accounts of festival found in printed books and images, I have used the widest range of sources, many from unpublished archives. My work on London makes extensive use of documentation in the London Metropolitan Archives, including the minute books of the Court of Common Council and the Middlesex and Westminster Sessions Papers. I have also made use of the Office of Ordnance's bill and minute books (N.R.A., London, W/O 51, vols. 3-62; N.R.A., London, W/O 47, vols. 5-25), which outline in detail the preparations made before firework displays in London. For Paris, I am indebted to colleagues for advising me on the best plan of attack, and pointing me in the direction of the records of the *Minutier central des notaires de Paris*; the *Menu-Plaisirs*, which detailed the organisation of royal ceremonies, celebrations and festivities; and the records kept by Paris municipal government, the *Registres des deliberations du Bureau de la Ville de Paris*.[121]

Where possible I have made additional use of state and civic legislation, court records and sessions papers, contemporary eyewitness accounts in diaries, letters and memoirs, newspapers and pamphlets, drawings, paintings, printed images, the evidence of objects, such as books and metalwork, technical manuals, and even the physical traces left by events on the urban landscape. By admitting the evidence of disparate,

120 ibid.

121 Special thanks to: Mark Bannister; Marie-Claude Canova-Green; Matthieu Da Vihna; Kevin Gould; Colin Jones; Penny Roberts; and Andrew Spicer.

sometimes conflicting accounts of events, this thesis does not set out to reconstruct early modern spectacles, as my colleagues in Edinburgh did. Instead, it offers a methodology for understanding festival in terms of practical project management, design and production, which was able to realise, with varying degrees of success, the ideal celebratory city in the two early modern metropolises.

## The Real City

> All histories are geographically specific, and their making is context dependent, dependent on what is already present, already situated, is inseparable from the social production of spaces and places, from the place-specific conduct of everyday life and non-routine activities.[122]

Allan Pred's *Making Histories and Constructing Human Geographies* states the seemingly obvious with great aplomb by arguing that historical actions were situated in real space. Labelling Pred the 'consumate geographer', historian and sociologist Charles Tilly's foreword celebrates the author's ability to embed 'human actions and their products in particular settings, whose arrangement then constrains subsequent human actions.'[123] This consciously down-to-earth approach to the pursuit of history is premised on the spatial and temporal being put on an 'equal footing'.

What do these concepts, as developed by the field of historical geography, have to do with the study of early modern festival? Quite simply, the events discussed in this thesis actually happened in two early modern metropolises, London and Paris. This is hardly the most earth-shattering conclusion, but as we have already seen, the vast majority of scholarly treatments of the subject have dealt with festival as if it took place in an entirely separate realm – what I have termed the ideal celebratory city. Scholarly preoccupation with analysis of symbolic and allegorical content has led to studies that accentuate the exceptional, otherworldly quality of events, often at the cost of more practical considerations. In an attempt to bring the subject back down to earth, the following discussion will consider the lessons that can be learnt from how other

122 Allan Pred, *Making Histories and Constructing Human Geographies: the Local Transformation of Practice, Power Relations, and Consciousness* (San Francisco, Boulder, Oxford: Westview Press, 1990), p.1.

123 Charles Tilly, 'Foreword', Pred, *Making Histories and Constructing Human Geographies*, p.xi.

disciplines have engaged with the early modern city, and how their methodologies can be used to reinvigorate the study of urban festival.

Pred's dictum is most useful for honing in on one of the key features of inhabited space – that we must share it with other people, who are engaged in a huge range of activities, and are motivated by different ideals and agendas. This is admittedly a cursory overview, but it does give a clear sense of the size – and diversity – of the populations resident in London and Paris, and the extent to which the two cities were characterised by difference. In 1680, Paris had been Europe's biggest city with a population of 500,000, but years of continual warfare, poor harvests and harsh winters had stalled population growth. By 1709, its population had contracted by as much as a fifth to 400,000.[124] London, by comparison, had been the smaller city for much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: its population had stood at around 200,000 in 1600, but this had more than doubled by 1700 to nearly 500,000 people, making it one of the biggest metropolises anywhere in the world.[125] Only Constantinople, Peking and Edo were bigger with populations of 700,000.[126]

Crucially, urban festival did not take place in socially and culturally neutral spaces. Paris and London were defined by their diversity of purpose, use and populations. Home to numerous trade guilds and professions, both were also capital cities and functioned as the seat of municipal and state government, the judiciary and, in the proper season, were home to the nobility too.[127] In London, court life focused on the Palace of

124 Colin Jones, *Paris: Biography of a City* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2006), p.179.

125 Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p.12.

126 Jules Lubbock, *The Tyranny of Taste: The Politics of Art and Design in Britain 1550-1960* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p.3.

127 In addition to the studies already cited, I have found the following particularly useful in making some sense of Paris and London during the period: Ian Archer, 'Material Londoners', *Material London, ca.1600*, ed. by Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp.174-92; Ian Archer, 'Social Networks in Early Modern London: The Evidence from Pepys's Diary', *Communities in Early Modern England*, ed. A. Shephard and P. Withington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.76-95; A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay (eds.), *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (London: Longman, 1986); William Beik, 'Louis XIV and the Cities', *Edo and Paris: Urban Life and the State in the Early Modern Era*, ed. by James L. McClain, John M. Merriman and Ugawa Kaoru (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp.68-85; Peter Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: 1540-1840, Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Peter Clark (ed.), *Two Capitals: London and Dublin, 1500-1840* (London: British Academy, 2001); Michael Cooper, '*A More Beautiful City': Robert Hooke and the Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire* (Stroud: Sutton, 2003); Rodolphe El-Khoury, 'Paving the City in Late-Eighteenth-Century France', *Assemblage*, 31 (Dec., 1996), pp.6-15; Benoît Garnot, *La Culture Matérielle en France aux XVIe, XVIIe at XVIIIe siècles*

Whitehall, until its destruction in a fire in 1698, and St. James's Palace. The situation was more complicated in Paris, as Louis XIV and his court had relocated to the Palace of Versailles by the early 1680s, when it became his chief royal residence.[128] Likewise, both cities experienced significant remodelling and redevelopment in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Amongst other changes, Paris's defensive city walls were replaced with boulevards, from the Dutch '*bolwerc*', or rampart, while London steadily expanded west.[129]

The size and diversity of metropolitan populations meant that the audience for festival was relentlessly plural. In theory, at least, these spectators would bring their different ideals and experiences to bear when watching, or, indeed, participating, in events. It is also worth thinking about the spectrum of responses evoked by the same event. One thinks, for example, of Marie-Claude Canova-Green's treatment of spectator experience in relation to early seventeenth-century court spectacle in France, where evidence of audience response is used as a cue for social differentiation. Her study of a series of fireworks displays held in Paris (1628) and La Rochelle (1630) does not shy away from the key issue of the political dimensions of sensory overload. By contrasting the behaviour of aristocratic spectators and local bystanders, Canova-Green argues that these fireworks display reinforced experientially existing hierarchies. Whereas more humble onlookers were 'stunned and frightened':

> The courtiers [had] learned to control their natural human fear of fire and its power to effect change, and to keep at the forefront of their minds that this power could be harnessed and ordered, and that in such circumstances as these its essential purpose was to entertain.[130]

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(Paris: Ophrys, 1995); David Garrioch, *Neighbourhood and Community in Paris 1740-90* (Paris: Ophrys, 1995); Vanessa Harding, 'Property, and Propriety in Urban England', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 32:4 (Spring, 2002), pp.549-69; Chris R. Kyle, 'Afterword: Remapping London', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71:1 (2008), pp.243-53; Miles Ogborn, '"This is London! How d'ye like it"', *Journal of Urban History*, 27:2 (2001), pp.206-16; Valerie Pearl, 'Change and Stability in Seventeenth-century London', *London Journal*, 5 (1979), pp.3-33; Valerie Pearl, 'Social Policy in Early Modern London', *History and Imagination: Essays in Honour of H.R. Trevor-Roper*, ed. by H. Lloyd-Jones, B. Worden and V. Pearl (London: Duckworth, 1981), pp.116-19; Steven R. Smith, 'The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-century Adolescents', *Past & Present*, 61 (1973), pp.149-61; Rochelle Ziskin, *The Place Vendôme: Architecture and Social Mobility in Eighteenth-century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

128 Ralph E. Giesey, *Cérémonials et puissances souveraine. France XVe-XVIIe siècles* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1987), p.55; Jones, Paris, p.195.

129 Jones, *Paris*, pp.185-6; Pierre Lavedan, *Nouvelle Histoire de Paris* (Paris: Hachette, 1975), pp.186-9.

130 Marie-Claude Canova-Green, 'Fireworks and Bonfires in Paris and La Rochelle', in Mulryne, Watanabe-O'Kelly and Shewring ed., *Europa Triumphans*, vol. II , pp.145-53.

As we will see in Section I, events in Versailles in 1668 challenged Canova-Green's model of the sanguine aristocratic spectator, but her account of events in the 1620s and 1630s provides a useful reminder that the same event could provoke divergent emotional responses.

Planning and performing public festival took place in locations that were already the site of other overlapping activities. More pertinently, it begins to suggest the very real challenges faced by those who were responsible for realising events. To reprise Pred, his assertion that history is 'inseparable' from the 'place-specific conduct of everyday life and non-routine activities' is poised upon the recognition that different ideals, objectives and agendas invariably coexist. This statement also introduces two terms that are of central importance to this thesis: the routine and everyday, and the non-routine and exceptional.[131] Early modern festival was part of the latter classification, constituting a set of practices that were partly defined by their specialness. As we will see below, this broader category must be subject to nuance, as some celebrations were more routine than others. For the moment, it is sufficient to state festival, as a relatively unusual set of activities, must not be isolated from its real urban setting.

In part, the issue here is vantage point. Miles Ogborn's useful review article 'Mapping the Metropolis' begins by tackling one of the challenges inherent in the pursuit of urban history:

> What we see of the city depends on our angle of vision. We are caught between wanting to see the whole or to understand what is transacted on the streets. We move between the perspective offered by a high vantage point and that given by burrowing down at ground level into the crowds of people. The former means defining the city's edges and forgoing the messy detail for what can be encompassed in a single view. The latter means losing the image of "the city" in an intense focus on the making of lives and complications of relationships to others and to the small geographies of the street corners, neighbourhoods, and homes. This is as much an issue for urban historians as it is for other urban dwellers or city visitors. They must choose an angle of vision.[132]

131 Pred, *Making Histories and Constructing Human Geographies*, p.1.

132 Miles Ogborn, 'Mapping the Metropolis', *The Journal of British Studies*, vol.42, no. 1 (Jan., 2003), pp.119-126 (p.119).

Ogborn rightfully acknowledges the theoretical debt owed to Michel de Certeau, whose *The Practice of Everyday Life* identifies the political dimensions in the conduct of everyday activities.[133]

Ogborn's main objective in his own *Spaces of Modernity: London Geographies 1680-1780* is to locate the origins of 'modernity' in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century London. In doing so, he constructs highly satisfactory 'geographies' of the fundamental 'processes' that underpinned the evolution of modern society, namely: 'individualisation, the formation of the "public sphere", commodification, bureaucratic rationalisation, state formation, and the transformation of time and space through communications innovations.'[134] Through close attention to the nuances of known spaces and places, and the evidence of the people that used them, Ogborn forges a satisfying methodology that elegantly sidesteps the 'theoretical tangle' associated not just with studies of modernity, but with the application of late twentieth-century theoretical models to the past.[135] In Ogborn's summation, his study becomes a book 'both about eighteenth-century London, addressing issues crucial to that period and place', but also 'about how contextual historical geographies can change the way we theorise modernities'.[136]

It could be argued, however, that Ogborn's assertion that the street failed to constitute 'the space for critical-rational debate' because 'its politics often took the form of "mob" riot and elite spectacle' falls into the same trap as some writing on early modern crowd behaviour.[137] Those who were present at public or semi-public activities are reduced to being either disruptive or adulatory. Where one wonders was the active and participatory loyalty that was much in evidence on the streets of early modern London and Paris? Although the historiography of the early modern crowd isn't the main thrust of this discussion, these studies do have bearing on the issue of how public space was used and classified. After all, largely anonymous crowds of people, orderly or

133 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1984); see, especially, 'Walking in the City', pp.91-110.

134 Miles Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London Geographies 1680-1780* (London and New York: Guilford, 1998), p.1.

135 Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity*, p.2.

136 ibid.

137 ibid, p.78.

disorderly, loyal or oppositional, or, more likely, somewhere in between, were present at many of the events described in this thesis. More significantly, as we will see in Section II, the ideals fostered by festival activities were embedded in their responses and the tenor of their behaviour. Discussions of 'the people', 'the mob' and 'the crowd' are notoriously fraught with difficulty. In the introduction to *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, David Underdown poses a very pertinent question, 'Since the people cannot be treated as an amorphous mass, were there differences of outlook and behaviour between people of different status, wealth, occupation, [and] between those in different types of community?'[138]

With its emphasis on the fragmentary and specific, Underdown's volley of questions is at odds with a large theoretical literature on 'the crowd' that emphasises what Tim Harris has termed 'the temporally and culturally specific' at the cost of the local and particular.[139] This approach is certainly evident in Elias Canetti's *Crowds and Power*, where the problem of the 'Crowd in History' is reduced to a discussion of national stereotypes.[140] Yet, as Harris, Underdown and the eighteenth-century scholar Nicholas Rogers have demonstrated, crowd behaviour resists simple, clean classifications. Instead, early modern crowds were characterised by difference: that is to say, the motivations and activities of those engaged in crowd behaviour were inexorably tied to situation, circumstance and stimulus.[141] This has particular meaning for how we conceptualise Ogborn's irrational 'man on the street', as alternately swayed by the compulsion of mob rule or the coercion of state-funded festival.

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This real city, characterised by fragmentation and diversity of population and purpose, was the site of the ideal celebratory city. In order to tease out the relationship between the two different, though never separate, realms, this dissertation has adopted a

138 David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Culture and English Politics, 1600–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p.vii.

139 Tim Harris, *London Crowds*, p.8.

140 Elias Canetti, Crowds and Power, trans. by Carol Stewart (London: Gollancz, 1962), pp.169-200.

141 See: Harris, *London Crowds*, pp.1–10; Nicholas Rogers, *Crowds, Culture and Politics in Georgian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1998), pp.1–20.

tripartite structure that will consider the three key stages in the narrative trajectory of all events. Section I looks at preparation, in theory and as a practice, by considering the activities that took place in the days, weeks and months before occasions, with particular reference to preparations made before Louis XIV and Maria-Teresa's *entrée* into Paris on 26 August 1660. This discussion uses the evidence of the management, design and production of three entities to establish the disparate, often conflicting ideals that were invested in the events. These are temporary structures, meaning triumphal architecture and the scaffolds built as viewing platforms, firework displays and bonfires. Section I is notably longer than Sections II and III, as it contains the most substantial new insights into the study of early modern festival, showing how evidence of process and practice can be used to nuance our understanding of the subject.

Section II deals with the realisation – or performance – of the events. This part of the thesis highlights the crucial difference between festival, as an idealised set of practices enshrined in the period of careful preparation, and the challenges and compromises inherent in any attempt to stage a collaborative, multimedia spectacular in the context of the real early modern city. And finally, Section III considers the processes by which events became printed commodities, and focuses on two major festival publications: Jean Tronçon's *L'Entrée Triomphante de Leurs Maiestez Lovis XIV…et Marie Therese d'Austriche* and Francis Sandford's *The History of the Coronation of James II*. Consideration of the practical production of these volumes and the representational strategies they employed clearly demonstrates the transformative effect of these books, and the extent to which they fixed the ideal celebratory city, as a concept, on the printed page.

**Section I:**

**Chapter 1**

## Preparation in Theory and Practice

### Introduction: From Idea to Realisation: Designing and Making Festival

On the morning of Thursday 26 August 1660, Louis XIV sat just beyond the walls of Paris. In the company of his new bride, Maria-Teresa of Austria, the king was installed on an imposing *trône-dais,* specially built for the occasion, while representatives from the Church, the *Université* and Paris's municipal government, the *Parlement*, approached the throne to pay their obeisance to the king. In the afternoon, the royal couple rode in cavalcade along a pre-appointed route that measured just over 6 km, and moved from Place du Trône (present-day *Place de la Nation*) in the east of the city to the Palais du Louvre in the west.[142]

In common with other major celebrations, the *entrée* comprised a series of events that took place in multiple locations over a period of days. While the *entrée* proper had taken place on 26 August, it was followed by other celebrations. As was customary '*dans toutes les Entrées solemnelles*'[143], churches throughout the city held services to celebrate the king's privileged position in the eyes of God, and '*pour rendre graces à Dieu de l'hereux retour, & des autres aduantages qui donnent lieu à ces Triomphes*'.[144] At 3 pm on Friday 27 August, a *Te Deum* was sung in Notre-Dame, '*auec les Prieres pour le Roy, & les Oraisons accoustumées*'.[145] At some unspecified point, Louis performed another of his ritual duties, pardoning prisoners, as '*la marque la plus essentielle de l'authorité Souueraine*' ('the most crucial mark of sovereign power').[146] Celebrations eventually

142 Frank, 'Les artistes de l'entrée de Louis XIV en 1660', p.54.

143 'during all solemn entries'.

144 '…to give thanks to God for this happy return return, and the other fortunate events that led to these celebrations'. *Tronçon 1662*, 'Svites et Conclusion de LEntree de leurs Maiestez, en la Ville de Paris', p.2.

145 '…with prayers for the king and the customary orations'.Tronçon 1662, p.ibid.

146 ibid.

concluded two days later on Sunday 29 August, when fireworks were launched from a ship-shaped scenic device positioned in the middle of the Seine in front of the Louvre.[147]

Scholars of festival have tended to focus exclusively on aspects of events like the *entrée*, most notably their symbolism and iconography; political agendas; and the costliness or magnificence of the resources employed. This approach has reinforced the notion that events were only composed of the day or days of the performance. For Louis's *entrée* in 1660, this would mean that the event only had a time frame of four days, beginning on Thursday 26 August with the procession, and finishing on Sunday 29 August, with the firework display. And yet, this event had a much broader narrative, as proven by the activities that took place before and after the performance. This section deals with what happened in the months before Louis's *entrée*, considering the planning and preparation for the event. The third, and final, section of the thesis focuses on the period after the celebration, when the occasion was commemorated in paintings, drawings and engravings, and in printed and manuscript textual descriptions. Engaging with festival's wider narratives highlights the wider impacts these events had, and reinforces the range of processes and personnel that were involved in their realisation and commemoration.

Louis's *entrée* in 1660 proves a suggestive vignette for exploring the idea of preparation, and the extent to which a celebration, as a set of ideals and practices, began long before the day of the actual performance. In this instance, documents in the *Archives Nationales* in Paris confirm that preparations had begun as early as 3 May 1660, when the sculptor Pierre Vion signed a *marché*, or contract, with the *Bureau de la Ville*, agreeing to restore the permanent decorations on Pont Notre-Dame by the deadline of 15 June 1660.[148] The beginning of the preparations can be dated earlier if one uses evidence of the *entrée*'s wider history to speculate on when the event, as an idea, was initiated. Although the religious marriage between Louis and Maria-Teresa had taken place on 9 June 1660 (NS), when the king wed the Spanish Infanta in the French port of Saint-Jean-de-Luz, negotiations had begun much earlier, and a proxy marriage had taken place in 1659.

147 *Tronçon 1662*, 'Svites et Conclusion de LEntree', pp.4-8.

148 A. N. Paris, Minutier central LXXXVII, 579 [fol. 1 r].

Arguably, Louis's entrée had been under consideration for much longer. Protocol demanded that the monarch's official entry into Paris happened in the months immediately after the coronation in Reims Cathedral.[149] As Louis's coronation had taken place in 1654, it is not inconceivable that his *entrée* was already under discussion at this date. In the event, the occasion was deferred for six years because of the political unrest and upheaval that had characterised the early part of his reign.[150] During these years, known collectively as the *Fronde*, named after the slingshot used by Parisian urchins to pelt wealthy citizens, his mother, Anne of Austria and her most influential minister, Cardinal Mazarin, had ruled by means of the unpopular Regency Council.[151] The king's position was particularly unstable in Paris, which 'had more than its fair share of involvement in these troubles', with the city's *Parlement* playing a leading role in opposition to the Crown.[152] One particularly harrowing episode saw the young Louis 'obliged to endure the terror and indignity of hordes of Parisians trooping past his bed at night to ensure he had not fled the city.'[153]

The wider historical contexts of Louis's *entrée* show the extent to which an event could exist as an idea long before its realisation as a performance. Arguably, the period between the coronation in 1654 and the *entrée* in 1660 could be seen to constitute a sort of mental preparation for the event, but this discussion will focus on what happened in the months immediately before 26 August, as this period is particularly well documented. Successful organisation of the *entrée* was essentially a question of good project management. It mattered that each component of the event was in the right place at the right time – a challenge that was only magnified by the occasion's extended time period and multiple locations. Where other studies of early modern

149 Bryant, *The King and the City*, pp.18-19.

150 See, for example: William Beik, *Urban Protest in Seventeenth-century France: the Culture of Retribution* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997); P.J. Coveney (ed.), *France in Crisis 1629-1675* (London: Macmillan, 1977); John L. Hurt, *Louis XIV and the Parlements: the Assertion of Royal Authority* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Raymond F. Kierstead (ed.), *State and Society in Seventeenth-century France* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1975); Jean Nicolas (ed.), *Mouvements Populaires et Conscience Sociale: XVIIe-XIXe siècles* (Paris: Maloine, 1985).

151 Colin Jones, Paris, p.178.

152 ibid, p.176.

153 ibid, p.179.

spectacle have privileged published accounts and painted images of events, this discussion establishes what planning the *entrée* actually involved.

## Preparation in Theory and Practice

Preparation denoted the period of time before an event when everything possible was done to ensure that the performance went according to plan, and successfully conveyed the social, cultural political ideals that were invested in the occasion. The form these preparations took was influenced by a host of variables that related to the character of the event and the resources that were available. Early modern festival was designed to elicit a response from those who experienced it, as a performance and in the form of the printed and painted records that communicated it to wider audiences. The events were devised to have a particular experiential or sensory impact by appealing to a spectrum of responses, an aspect that will be discussed in greater detail below. It would have been unthinkable, for example, for a coronation celebration to deliberately set out to cause disgust or displeasure.

Festivals, like other forms of designed entities, did not exist in a vacuum. The appearance and content of events were informed by factors as various as local traditions, the prevailing fashions in art and design, the attempt to emulate Ancient Roman festival forms and, most notably, the model provided by other events, at home and abroad. Teasing out the relationship between these design ideas and the finished product is tricky at the best of times. This dissertation does not profess to offer any new remarks on how influence in design operated in the early modern period, or the mechanisms through which contemporary design ideas circulated at a local, national or global level.[154] Nor does it attempt to make a substantial contribution to understanding of the art historical concept of *disegno*, as evidence of the intellectual capacity of the artist or designer.[155] Instead, it will engage with the notion of the design idea in relation to the practical business of project management by enquiring to what extent any single individual or group could be said to have had artistic control over festival events.

154 Michael Snodin, 'Baroque as a World Style', *Baroque: Style in the Age of Magnificence*, 1620-1800 (London: V&A, 2009), pp.114-22.

155 For Luke Syson and Dora Thornton's excellent introduction to the concept of 'disegno' see: Luke Syson and Dora Thornton, 'The Value of Disegno', *Objects of Virtue: Art in Renaisssance Italy* (London: British Museum, 2001), pp.135-81.

One wonders, for example, what did it mean to design a festival? Who was in charge of what an event looked and felt like? What was the relationship between those in charge of the occasion's budget and its ideological imperatives, and the personnel who were employed to design and make its props, scenery, temporary architecture, costumes, texts and performances? Who, in short, actually designed festival? Was it more than one group or person? What did they do? How? When? And why? It is worth reiterating a point made in the introduction to this thesis – that our understanding of these issues has, perhaps, been coloured by the involvement in some occasions of canonical artists, architects and writers, such as Inigo Jones, Ben Jonson, Bernini and Rubens. However, as this discussion will show, the practice of making festivals was incredibly collaborative, while those involved in the design weren't always well-known names or, in some incidences, came from unexpected professional backgrounds.

Preparation, as a time period and set of activities, encompassed two main practices: designing and scheduling. To unpack the terminology used, design has two meanings for this thesis. Firstly, it is used in the familiar sense to denote the realisation in two- or three-dimensional form an idea, as evidenced by a design drawing or discussion. In addition, this thesis contends that the design stage of a project also included more practical processes, with entities being devised to fulfil a set of ideal characteristics. This has particular relevance to the design and construction of apparatus like bonfires and the scaffolding built as viewing platforms, which were largely unnoted upon by contemporaries, and don't tend to leave design documents, or comprehensive technical literatures.

Scheduling, by comparison, was a temporal and organisational conceit, which concerned the order tasks were completed in. More specifically, it concerns the notion that those in charge of producing an event had an idea of when particular tasks had to be completed by. Scheduling constituted a series of informed hypothetical questions, with those involved establishing what needed to be done, how it was going to be done and when it needed to be finished and in situ. Mechanisms of incentive, such as contracts, deadlines, partial payments and penalty fees, were also used to ensure each component of an occasion was in the right place at the right time. Louis's *entrée*

provides a useful way into this discussion, as correct timing was of the essence precisely because it was a multimedia spectacular that comprised a series of separate events in multiple locations.

**Designing Ideals for Early Modern Festival**

The concept of design had a specific character in relation to festival. At the most basic conceptual level, festival constituted a big idea – typically one which was hugely topical and political – that had to be conveyed to spectators, present at the performance, before being repackaged for consumption by absent audiences, primarily in the form of printed books, pamphlets and engravings. During the performance, the idea was communicated by the event as a whole. Take, for example, Louis's *entrée*. The event had been devised to celebrate a new era of peace ushered in by the young king's majority, the end of war with Spain, and Louis's recent marriage to Maria-Teresa, daughter of the Spanish king, Felipe IV. It had also reasserted the nature of the relationship between the Crown and Paris after the turmoil of the *Fronde*. As Peter Burke has rightly noted, the *entrée* was 'not an event sponsored by the government', but 'an official welcome to the king on the part of the city'. It had even been interpreted by the contemporary diarist Guy Patin as necessary 'expiation' for the city's actions during the 1640s and 1650s.[156] The ideal of peace – and the idea of Louis as 'le Donneur de Paix' ['Bringer of Peace'] – informed the individual components of the event's design. This included major projects, such as the *entrée*'s triumphal architecture and firework display, and the restoration of permanent monuments, but also encompassed the efforts made to beautify the city with bonfires, illuminations, hangings, tapestries and cleanly swept streets.

This discussion sails perilously close to anachronism in its suggestion that early modern festival fulfilled the same function as propaganda. In *The Fabrication of Louis **X**IV*, Burke elegantly sidesteps the question by means of the concept of 'media of persuasion', a category that covers the widest range of cultural products, and which gives a strong sense of objects or experiences being specifically designed to promote a set of ideals to an audience.[157] For Jean Tronçon, official chronicler of events in 1660, the *entrée* was a

156 Burke, *Fabrication of Louis XIV*, p.43.

157 ibid, p.13.

celebration of the power of the French throne. This glory informed every aspect of the event, appearing in '*les soûmissions*' made to Louis and Maria-Teresa on the *trône-dais*, and in the triumphal arches that '*auioent publié sa generosité dans les belles & glorieuses actions qu'elle auoit produites*'.[158]

The preparations before Louis's *entrée* constituted a series of devolved practices, as supervised by representatives from the *Bureau de la Ville,* in order to transform Paris into a suitable site for celebration. The relationship between ideological imperatives – the ideals – and execution makes establishing an event's designer difficult. Those individuals who were directly responsible for devising an occasion's aesthetic did not have carte blanche, but were employed to produce events that fulfilled an ideological function and responded to the needs of the political moment. Staging a festival, like Louis's *entrée*, was a collaborative, multimedia, devolved enterprise, which only amplified the issue. In 1660, the organising committee oversaw the operations of the personnel employed to make the event's temporary structures, scenic apparatus and fireworks, but they were also responsible for ensuring street-by-street preparations were conducted properly. These activities, including bonfire building, cleaning the street and decorating the facades of houses, further devolved responsibility for the realisation of the ideal celebratory city.

**Scheduling Early Modern Festivals**

Realising design ideals and ideas involved a keen sense of scheduling. Preparing for events like Louis's *entrée* was not a single, coherent enterprise, but a series of short, medium and long-term projects that all contributed to the final product – a celebration that had both temporal and spatial dimensions. The idea of scheduling emphasises the extent to which preparation was defined by time and timing. Evidence for the different stages of preparations demonstrated that those in overall charge had some idea of when specific tasks needed to be completed. In effect, organisers already had a sense of what was routine, and this informed the timing of practical preparations. How were similar events planned? Who was involved? What needed to be done, when and where? How much should each part cost?

158 '…published his generosity in her [Paris's] beautiful and glorious actions'. *Tronçon 1662*, 'Preparatifs dan la Ville de Paris', p.8.

These decision-making processes were certainly in evidence in the waves of preparation that took place in the months before the *entrée* in 1660, with allowance made for some activities to take considerably longer than others. Surviving contracts reveal that restoring the city's permanent infrastructure was deemed the most time-consuming activity. This part of the process began nearly four months before the *entrée* on 3 May 1660, when the sculptor Pierre Vion signed a *marché* with *les Messieurs de Ville* to refresh '*décorations*' ['decorations'] on Pont Notre-Dame.[159] The occasion's most substantial temporary apparatus, its triumphal architecture, was also underway by 5 May, when the painter Pierre Mélin entered into a similar *marché* to design a triumphal arch for the Faubourg Saint-Antoine. Auxiliary structures, like the *échafaux*, or scaffolds, that were built as viewing platforms, could be erected with greater speed. The first reference to the *échafaux* constructed for Louis's entry can be dated to 19 July, when the *Bureau de la ville* gave permission to '*Messieurs les Payeurs de Rentes de lhostel de Ville*' to erect '*un arcade un Echaffeur [et] un Amphiteatre*' ['an arcade, a scaffold and an amphitheatre'] at the top of rue Sainte-Margueritte, opposite the convent of Saint-Antoine des Champes.[160]

In the shorter term, the processional route was a hive of activity in the days and week before the *entrée*. On 18 August, municipal bureaucrats issued a wave of directives that compelled Parisians at all social levels to participate actively in last-minute preparations. Householders were ordered to adorn the facades of their houses with tapestries and hangings, while the residents of '*la grand rüe du fauxbourg S[ain]t Antoine de faire jetter de l'eau au devant leurs maisons*' on 23, 24 and 25 August.[161] Businesses were told to remove the 'enseignes', or shop signs, that were potential obstacles.[162] '*Tous Seigneurs, gentilhomme, bourgeois et au de quelques qualities et Condition*' were prohibited from riding horses or driving coaches or carts along streets

159 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, [fol.1 r°].

160 A.N., Paris, K1000, no.253.278 [4r].

161 '…the grand rue du Faubourg Saint-Antoine to throw water in front of their houses'. A.N., Paris, K1000, no.253.387 [12r], no.253.389 [12v].

162 A.N., Paris, K1000, no.253.387 [12r].

that were part of the processional route.[163] These tasks were the finishing touches and left until the day of an event or days before simply because it was impractical to complete them any sooner. The idea of washing the processional route any further ahead of schedule was entirely preposterous; in a busy, working city like early modern Paris, the streets would have been filthy almost as soon as they had been cleaned.

**Sir Martin Beckman: Designing and Scheduling**

Thinking more about the relationship between designing and scheduling, the successful organisation of an event involved both – that is, choosing the most appropriate design idea, and then realising this to deadline by employing the right workforce. In London, the career of Sir Martin Beckman illustrates the extent to which the lead designer also had to be a good project manager. This case study also challenges some of the assumptions we may have about who designed festival. After all, Beckman didn't have an artistic background, but was best known for his work as an artillery and explosives specialist, who was employed by the English Office of Ordnance. And yet, he was also responsible for the most spectacular firework displays that were witnessed by late-seventeenth-century London: those for the coronation of James II (1685), the birth of James's son and heir (1688), the coronation of William and Mary (1689), and the Peace of Ryswick (1697).[164]

Beckman's professional experiences suggests both the paradox at the heart of early modern fireworks – that the same devices were used during warfare and celebration – and some of the challenges associated with identifying the designer of specific events. In this instance, an individual better known for his technical expertise in artillery and explosives for the battlefield was also responsible for overseeing the construction and design of the scenic devices that were produced as part of firework displays. Beckman's extraordinary biography can be used to tease out some of the practical and conceptual complexities of early modern festival design.

163 'All lords, gentlemen, and middling sort of whatever quality and condition'. A.N., Paris, K1000, no.253.388 [12r]. For the potential disruption and congestion caused by carriages and coaches, see: Mark Jenner, 'Circulation and Disorder: London Streets and Hackney Coaches, c.1640-1740', *The Streets of London: From the Great Fire to the Great Stink*, ed. by Tim Hitchcock and Heather Shore (London: Rivers Oram, 2003), pp.40-53.

164 Tierney, 'Playing with Fire', pp. 28-31, 60, 126.

Born in Sweden to a family with Dutch antecedents, Beckman followed his brother, an army captain and engineer, to England in 1645, where he served in the Royalist forces during the English Civil Wars. [165] The elder 'Bookman' was 'ruined and severely injured by an accidental explosion, in preparation of some fireworks to be shown on the water in His Majesty's Honour'.[166] This phrasing suggests that Beckman's brother died in the process of producing display fireworks, but it is unclear whether these were in honour of the current monarch or his late father, Charles I. After the Restoration in 1660, Beckman successfully petitioned Charles II for his late brother's dangerous job.[167]

Until his own death in 1702, Beckman was 'much involved in making and using fireworks for war as well as celebration'.[168] His professional prestige, including his knighthood in 1686, must be primarily ascribed to his achievements as a military engineer and artillery specialist.[169] Revealingly, when Beckman was imprisoned in the Tower as a suspected spy, it was by means of his artillery expertise that he fell back into royal favour, claiming at a crucial point in the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-7) to have 'brought to perfection a mode of firing ships'.[170] He consolidated this position in October 1670 by being appointed as an engineer to the Ordnance, before becoming 'engineer of all His Majesty's castles, forts, blockhouses and other fortifications in England' in 1677.[171] With the death in 1685 of his immediate successor, Bernard de Gomme, Beckman became Chief Engineer, a position that was generously rewarded with a stipend of £300 and the per diem of £1.[172]

In August 1688, Beckman was appointed the first Comptroller of the Fireworks, receiving an annual salary of £200 to supervise the production and proofing, or testing,

165 Piers Wauchope, 'Beckman, Sir Martin', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008), http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/view/article/1910 [accessed 21 May 2010].

166 CSPD 1660-1661, vol. vi.161, p.101.

167 ibid.

168 Brenda Buchanan, 'Making Fireworks', *Gunpowder Plots: A Celebration of 400 Years of Bonfire Night* (London: Allen Lane, 2005), pp.145-88 (p.167).

169 ibid, p.168.

170 CSPD, vol.CCVI.176, p.228.

171 CSPD, March 1677-December 1678, p.611.

172 CSPD, February 1685-December 1685, p.397.

of fireworks for both military and display purposes.[173] The Comptroller's duties also included 'managing the Royal Laboratories', the state's designated site for 'explosives research', where Beckman was credited with developing a 'much better and quicker fire for your majesty's ships than was ever before practiced'.[174] From around 1650, the government Office of Ordnance had 'shifted fireworks-making from the Tower of London to a "great barn" in Greenwich'. In 1696, state-production of fireworks had moved further south, well beyond the city's limits, to dockyards in Woolwich, where explosives were produced until The Royal Woolwich Ordnance Factories closed in 1967.[175]

This brief outline of Beckman's career illustrates the extent to which his main contribution to the Office of Ordnance was in the production and design of artillery and explosives for the battlefield. And yet, only concentrating on his military career ignores Beckman's involvement in project managing large-scale state spectaculars. By the time of his death in 1702, he had been employed by the state to produce elaborate pyrotechnic spectacles. In this capacity, he had 'Designed and Directed' fireworks displays for no less than three coronations, with only ill health and his advanced age preventing his participation in celebrations for Queen Anne's coronation. While, in 1688, James II was so delighted with Beckman's work that he was awarded sole rights 'of prints in mezzo tinto' of the firework display he'd organised for the birth of the Prince of Wales.[176] **(Fig.4.)** After James's exile in 1688/89, Beckman showed his willingness to work for the new regime, quickly pulling together fireworks for the coronation of William and Mary on 11 April 1689.[177] He was also responsible for overseeing fireworks to mark William's 'safe return' from war against France in 1695, and for coordinating a major celebration for the Peace of Ryswick in 1697.[178]

It is notable, too, that firework displays were a less prominent part of state-led celebrations after Beckman's death. Until the magnificent, yet flawed, celebrations for

173 CSPD, 1691-92, p.244.

174 Buchanan, 'Making Fireworks', p.172; CSPD, 1691-2, p.244.

175 Simon Werrett, *Philosophical Fireworks: Science, Art and Pyrotechnics in European History* (Unpublished Manuscript seen by permission of the author), p.115.

176 CSPD, June 1687-February 1689, pp.60, 248.

177 Buchanan, 'Making Fireworks', p.168.

178 Evelyn, 13 November 1695, vol. 5, pp.223, 277-8.

the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1749, the value of state-sponsored pyrotechnic spectacle depreciated, with no great public displays marking the coronations of Queen Anne (1702), George I (1714), or George II (1727).[179] The position of Comptroller also remained empty after Beckman's death until Charles Frederick was appointed to the post some 44 years later in 1746.[180]

Beckman was clearly highly adept as an organiser of firework displays, but what more can be said about his role? This discussion presages the issues that inform Section 1: Chapter 3, below, which is a more thoroughgoing analysis of early modern firework displays. At this juncture, it is sufficient to say that the Ordnance's minute and debenture books detailed Beckman's team of workers. With their combination of fireworks and scenic apparatus, the displays required a large workforce with a wide range of skills. Beckman's workforce was composed of three main types of personnel: the Ordnance employees, who made the fireworks; suppliers of both ingredients for the fireworks and the materials used to construct the props and scenery; and the men who built and decorated this scenic apparatus.

In 1685, for the James II's coronation display in 1685, Beckman assembled a team including the three categories of worker. Thomas Amy supplied the 'particulars hereafter men[c]ioned being for the Fireworks' at a total cost of £84 18s 00d.[181] The Ordnance also bought in additional hardware for its stores. This included the '4 mettle melting pots' and 'iron plates for the furnaces' that were used to make the fireworks in the Laboratory, as well as the wood and nails that were needed to construct the scenic apparatus.[182] Throughout the preparatory stages, regular payments were made to the event's core team: its gunners, carpenters and labourers.[183] The former were responsible for making pyrotechnic devices, while the latter built most of the display's large-format props and scenery. Other personnel were employed to supplement this

179 Buchanan, 'Making Fireworks', pp.170-71.

180 Ibid, p.171.

181 N.R.A., W/O 51-29, 6 May 1685: 5 March 1684/5 [n.p].

182 N.R.A., W/O 51-30, 6 May 1685: 21 March 1684/5 [n.p.]

183 N.R.A., W/O 51-30, 6 May 1685 [n.p.]

basic workforce, with payments made to metalworkers, a joiner, a turner and at least one painter.[184]

Beckman's assembled similar workforces for his other major firework displays. For the display to celebrate the Treaty of Namur in 1695, the Ordnance's clerk, Thomas Ball, paid those 'Employ[e]d in the Fireworks at St. James's Square' a total of £162 2s 11d. Labour on this occasion included '7 Extraord[inar]y men Employed in the laboratory', three smiths, '4 extra Carpenters', and 'sev[era]all men' to watch 'at night the fireworks & everything thereunto belonging'.[185] While in 1697, Beckman's bills for the Peace of Ryswick display detailed payments made to Nicholas Alcock, 'a master Carver'; to John Stockley 'for Cartidge'; to Henry Howell, 'M[aste]r Painter'; and to John Winsley, Thomas Smith, and John and Thomas Silvesters 'for Smith worke'.[186]

This overview showcases the diverse workforce involved in producing firework displays, and suggests the extent to which Beckman's role was that of project manager, who was adept at handling the large budgets associated with this kind of event. The successful execution of the events relied on his ability to make sure the fireworks and display apparatus were completed, of the requisite standard, and in place on time. Although the fireworks were produced in house in the Ordnance's Laboratory in Greenwich, the manufacture of the display apparatus was outsourced to other craftsmen including carpenters, cabinetmakers, joiners, wood carvers, ironworkers and painters.

Significantly, there was some overlap in personnel between the displays organised by Beckman, which suggests he actively reemployed some of the same team, knowing, to some extent, the strengths of his workforce. Thomas Amy supplied ingredients for the fireworks for displays to celebrate James II's coronation in 1685, the birth of the Prince of Wales in 1688, the signing of the Treaty of Namur in 1695, and the Peace of Ryswick

184 ibid.

185 N.R.A., W/O 51/51, 30 October 1695, f.38; N.R.A., W/O 51/51, 31 December 1695, f.99.

186 N.R.A., W/O 51/55, 30 September 1697, v.67; N.R.A. W/O 51/55, 30 December 1697, v.152-f.153; N.R.A. W/O 51/55, December 1697, f.95; N.R.A. W/O 51/55, December 1697, f.153-v.153; N.R.A., December 1697, v.153-f.154.

in 1697.[187] Robert Bennett supplied the barges that were moored in the middle of the River Thames, providing a floating stage for the fireworks in 1684 and 1688.[188] Thomas Browne, gunner, made fireworks for the displays in 1684 and 1685.[189] Thomas White, smith, made ironwork in 1685 and 1697.[190] One can only speculate, but it would seem likely that these individuals were employed again because of a successful performance in a previous event, or, as in the case of Amy, the supplier of ingredients for the fireworks, provided a comparatively exclusive service.

Beckman's place, at the head of this team, was linked to his technical expertise as an artillery and explosives technician, as these were the least transferable skills involved in the production of firework displays. The notion that Beckman was the designer of these occasions was, in fact, inextricably tied to his skills as a pyrotechnician. Although large-format scenic devices were made for other kinds of events, fireworks in the quantities used during firework displays were the exclusive territory of the Ordnance in England and professional *artificier*, or firework makers, in France. As we will see below, pyrotechnicians, such as Beckman, were able to generate an impressive range of sound and coloured light effects, which depended on their knowledge of different pyrotechnical devices and explosive compositions. These fireworks were also designed to be dangerous, and were identical in most respects to the explosives used on the battlefield. In England, they were even made by exactly the same personnel. It made sense, therefore, for the person in overall charge of a firework display – its lead designer, so to speak – to be a specialist in the controlled deployment of the pyrotechnics, the aspect of the occasion that had the most scope for going wrong.

**Conclusion:**

Coordinating festival activities, on both a large and small scale, raises interesting questions about the relationship between those who had bureaucratic control over an event and the personnel and practitioners who were responsible for its design and

187 N.R.A., W/O 51/29, 5 March 1684/5 [n.p.]; N.R.A., W/O 51/36, 31 May 1688 [n.p.]; N.R.A. W/O 51/51, 16 October 1695, f.74; N.R.A., W/O 51/55, 30 September 1697 v.67.

188 N.R.A., W/O 51/29, 6 September 1684; N.R.A., W/O 51/36, 28 July 1688 [n.p.].

189 N.R.A., W/O 47/29, December 1684 [n.p.].N.R.A., W/O 51/30, 30 July 1685 [n.p.].

190 N.R.A., W/O 51/51, 18 November 1695, v.65; N.R.A., W/O 51/55, 31 December 1697, f.95.

construction. The subsequent three chapters will investigate the idea of design and scheduling in relation to three types of entity strongly associated with early modern festival: temporary structures, encompassing both triumphal architecture and the scaffolding built as viewing platforms; firework displays; and bonfires. Where other studies have focused explicitly on the iconographical and ideological function of these activities, I will use evidence of project management, design and construction to produce new insights into the social, cultural and political ideals invested in urban celebrations. This discussion is premised on the notion that these activities actively and deliberately transformed the urban landscape, creating an ideal version of the early modern city that was deemed a more suitable stage for important celebrations.

**Section I**

**Chapter 2**

## Restructuring the City: Building Temporary Structures

Gabriel Ladame's *La magnifique entrée du Roy et de la Reyne* is a rare depiction of the full range of temporary structures that were constructed before days of occasion. **(Fig.5.)** Alongside the elaborate triumphal architecture built for Louis's *entrée*, Ladame made a feature of the scaffolds that had been erected as viewing platforms. Together, these temporary structures helped transform Paris into a site that was suitable for celebration, by changing how participants and spectators alike experienced the city during the days of the performance, and in the days, weeks and months before the event. The design and construction of these structures provides valuable evidence of the ideals that were invested in major urban celebrations. One need only compare the main two types of temporary structures built for Louis's *entrée*, which were intended to fulfil very different objectives.

In 1660, colossal triumphal architecture fulfilled a decorative function. **(Fig.7.)** It was built to enhance Paris's appearance and promote to the city and its inhabitants the *entrée*'s main symbolic narratives, and the new era of peace that was embodied in the person of the young king. These ideals had important spatial and material dimensions, with the size, location and elaborate decoration of the triumphal architecture transforming parts of Paris and how it was experienced. Triumphal arches were passed through or became sites for performance, while large-format scenic devices and decorative schemes were passed by, stood in front of and admired. By comparison with permanent additions to the urban landscape, such as triumphal arches in stone, these structures were relatively quick and cheap to construct. Their appearance throughout the city, and the speed with which this happened, announced that something exceptional was about to occur, with the active installation of occasional architecture, props and scenic devices helping the urban populace to prepare mentally for the forthcoming occasion.

Scaffolds, or '*échafaux*', were more functional, and have not received attention from scholars. **(Fig.7.)** Less heavily decorated and without the symbolic resonance of triumphal architecture, these auxiliary structures were designed to be solid and stable, while elevating the participants or spectators that were stood or sat on them. The latter function had two implications. First, spectators with a place on a viewing platform were assured a better view of proceedings. Second, the individuals on scaffolds were more visible to other spectators. This had particular importance in relation to a structure like the *trône-dais*, where Louis and Maria-Teresa sat on the morning of the *entrée*, to receive obeisance from representatives from the *Bureau de la Ville*, the Church and the *Université*.

In these instances, heightened visibility had a political imperative. During important state rituals, the presence of an audience provided legitimization. As Watanabe-O'Kelly writes:

> In a ceremony, such as a coronation, the audience is there as a witness and without it the event would not be legal or binding. At the entry of a royal bride into her capital city, the presence of her new subjects lining the streets constitutes her official recognition as consort. In festivals with a civic dimension such as the royal entry, the people look on as their representatives enter into a contract with the ruler, which the festival brings into being.[191]

This was certainly true of the *entrée*, when Louis appeared in the company of his new consort, Maria-Teresa, a moment that was enhanced by the design and construction of the *trône-dais*. **(Fig.8.)** It was the most stable, impressive and elaborately appointed viewing platform erected for the event, which duly reflected the status of the king, queen, court and ceremony. The spectacle of the bride and bridegroom on the *trône-dais* could also be seen to echo some of the occasion's painted imagery, most notably the huge canvas of Louis and Maria-Teresa in Hymen's chariot that embellished the triumphal arch in Place Dauphine.

Viewing platforms built for non-royal spectators were also invested with social ideals. These were clustered around the intangible feeling of having attended an historical event and, more importantly, having been seen to be there. Differences in the

191 Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'Politics and Performance, Event and Record', p.16.

commission, construction and decoration of scaffolds or *échafaux* revealed these ideals. The materials and techniques employed effectively produced different experiences of the same event. To a large extent, this involved enhancing the comfort of spectators by ensuring protection from the elements, and the provision of seating, food and drink, all of which fostered sociability and conviviality.

Evidence of the commission and manufacture of the temporary structures for Louis's *entrée* sheds valuable light on the key issue of control, and the extent to which festival was a product of negotiated and, in some instances, conflicting ideals. The structures, whether decorative or functional, contributed to the overall experience of the event, and the ideas and ideals that were invested in it. However, their design and construction had to be devolved to decentralised personnel, with individual structures being the end products of periods of negotiation between those responsible for the overall design of an occasion and the personnel charged with devising its individual components.

The elaborate triumphal architecture built for Louis's *entrée* was closely monitored by the event's organising committee, which was composed of municipal worthies and the *Prévôt des marchands et echevins*. As we saw, above, these men had a vested interest in the quality and execution of the finished product. This had particular importance in relation to the execution of decorative motifs with special ideological significance, such as heraldic devices and hallmarks of royal power. Although less emphasis was placed on the decoration of *échafaux* built for Louis's entrée, surviving documentation revealed the bureaucratic and commercial interests that underpinned their construction. Most notably, these scaffolds highlighted the tensions between public and private interests. Although the *Bureau de la Ville* administered planning permission, the structures were actually privately owned, as entrepreneurial Parisians rented out space on the stands to those spectators willing to pay for a better view.

**Designing and Making Occasional Architecture**

For Louis's *entrée* in 1660, the appearance of elaborate occasional architecture throughout Paris was the most eye-catching indication that something special was about to happen. In total, seven temporary structures were built: the *trône-dais*, set just

beyond the city walls; the triumphal arches at Faubourg Saint-Antoine, Le Parnasse, Marché-Neuf and Pont Neuf, and the arch and *amphiteatre* erected in Place Dauphine. Permanent improvements were also made, with the *Bureau de la Ville* commissioning stone statues for niches in Porte Saint-Antoine, and ordering the restoration of the tired decorative motifs on Pont-Notre Dame.

In 1660, the overall design of the entrée was intended to present the young king, then on the cusp of his majority, as 'Louys le Donneur de Paix', or 'Louis the Bringer of Peace'.[192] As we have seen, the broad theme of war and peace made absolute sense in the context of recent history, with the event's occasional architecture playing a key role in conveying these ideals to a wider audience. However, although narrative and symbolism were of huge importance, other aspects of the occasion's design also contributed to its effectiveness. This section will consider the practical aspects of ideological design through an analysis of the materials and processes used to realise the entrée's rather lofty subject matter in the form of triumphal architecture.

Let's think for a moment about the main properties associated with major triumphal architecture. First, the most impressive temporary structures were built on a colossal scale and intended to inspire awe in those who saw, sat on, stood by and passed under them. Second, occasional architecture was built in canvas, wood and plaster, but painted to imitate more durable materials such as precious metal, marble, jasper and porphyry.[193] And finally, by comparison with permanent, monumental additions to the urban landscape, it could be erected relatively quickly. This speed reflected both the materials being used, but also the processes, as the evidence of Louis's *entrée* suggests that the temporary structures were partially constructed offsite before being put in place. Our main source of evidence for this discussion is the *marché*, or contracts, issued by the *Bureau de la Ville* to the various artists responsible for designing and making the occasion's five triumphal arches. The documents provide vital evidence of the collaborative, partially devolved nature of the enterprise, with artists, working alone or in twos and threes, charged with producing individual structures.

192 Tronçon 1662, 'Preparatifs dans la Ville de Paris', p.8.

193 Alice Jarrard, *Architecture as Performance in Seventeenth-Century Europe: Court Ritual in Modena, Rome and Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 12, 24, 27; Margaret M. McGowan, 'The Renaissance Triumph and its Classical Heritage', *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance*, pp.26-47 (p.38).

Each profession had a designated role. The painters took the lead in designing the occasion's temporary structures. Pierre Mélin, painter, produced the triumphal arch that was installed just beyond Porte Saint-Antoine.[194] **(Fig.9.)** Mélin also designed the 'Montparnasse', a triumphal arch at Le Parnasse.[195] **(Fig.10.)** The brothers Henri and Charles Beaubrun designed the arch erected at one end of Pont Notre-Dame **(Fig.11.)**; Michel Dorigny and François Tortebat the arch at Marché-Neuf **(Fig.12.)**; and Daniel Hallé and Charles Poerson the arch at one end of Place Dauphine **(Fig.13.)**.[196] The painters also supervised production of narrative scenes, figurative devices and text panels, as well as the paint effects that transformed canvas and wood into precious materials, such as bronze and marble. Additional painters, Jacques de Haynault, Jacques L'Homme, François Francart and Charles Bacot, were contracted to paint architectural details and produce the *trompe l'oeil* paint effects.[197] Fleurant Lenoir was the only *maître-menuisier*, who signed a *marché* for the construction of the arch in Faubourg Saint-Antoine, which reflected the comparative complexity of this structure.[198]

Sculptors were employed to fulfil two functions: to renovate the permanent built environment and create ephemeral decorative motifs. Pierre Vion, sculptor, oversaw the renovations of Pont Notre-Dame, with additional assistance from Antoine Guyot and Charles Joltrin, also sculptors, who were employed to produce additional decorative features in plaster, which were used to decorate the bridge.[199] **(Fig.14.)** Another sculptor, Thomas Regnaudin, produced two permanent statues in stone for the niches in Porte Saint-Antoine, with Alexandre Jacquet and Jean-Baptiste Tuby, sculptors, commissioned to produce '*deux trophé d'amour*' in stone.[200] **(Fig.15.)**

194 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 5 May 1660.

195 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 27 June 1660.

196 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 11 May 1660; 11 May 1660; 16 June 1660.

197 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 15 May 1660; 16 June 1660.

198 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, fol.1 [r]: 6 May 1660.

199 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, fol.1 [r]: 3 May 1660; 1 July 1660.

200 '…two trophies of love'. A.N., Paris, Ville de Paris, Baux à loyer, devis, marchés et memoires de travaux de bâtiments, Contrats passés par Paris pour préparer l'entrée du 26 août 1660, H2.2012, [fol.1 r]; A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, fol.1 [r]: 17 June 1660.

The content of the *marché* revealed vital stages in the design process. The design and construction of the occasional architecture was, to some extent, centrally monitored, as all plans for the triumphal arches had to be shown to and approved by the *Prévôt des marchands et échevins*. The *maître-menuisier* Lenoir's *marché* showed that although Mélin was responsible for the design of the arch outside Porte Sainte-Antoine, he was, in turn, answerable to the *Bureau de la Ville*, as '*Le tour sera faict suivant le dessein dudict Melin peintre qui en a esté montré ausdicts sieurs*'.[201] Similarly Tortebat and Dorigny's contract for the arch at Marché-Neuf also indicated that although the artists were responsible for supervising the overall look of the structure and its large-format painted decoration, Paris's *Maître des oeuvres* ['Master of Works'], Michel Noblet, supervised the construction of the actual arch to ensure that they followed the designs presented to the *Bureau de la Ville*. Dorigny and Tortebat's contract stipulated that:

*...le tout fait suivant la visite et controlle du sieur Noblet maître de œuvres de la ville et gens à ce cognoissans, pour à quoy parvenir sera fourny d'un lieu convenable par mesdits sieurs pour pouvoir travailler, faire et construire ledit ouvrage.*[202]

Noblet's involvement reiterated the extent to which the *Bureau de la Ville* attempted to keep a tight control over the realisation of the triumphal architecture in three dimensions. In this instance, Dorigny and Tortebat were allocated workspace by the city, where, one presumes, they partially constructed the scenic apparatus before it was installed in situ.[203]

In one instance, personnel were employed to realise a design for a triumphal arch that had, in fact, been produced by another artist. Charles Le Brun, '*premier peintre du roy*' ['first painter to the king'], submitted to the *Bureau de la Ville* his design for the arch erected in Place Dauphine, but did not supervise its construction or painted

201 'Everything is to be made according to the design provided by the aforementioned Melin, painter, as shown to the aforementioned sires'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, fol.1 [r]: 11 May 1660.

202 '...all was done under the surveillance and control of Sieur Noblet, master of town works, and the people known to him; to achieve this [Dorigny and Tortebat] will be provided with a convenient place by the aforementioned sires to work in, make and build the said works.' A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 11 May 1660.

203 In his study of late eighteenth-century festival in France, Monin concurs that triumphal architecture could be erected with relative speed, arguing that it was partly constructed off site. See: Monin, 'The Construction of Fantasy', pp.1479-81; Monin, 'The Speculative Challenges of Festival', pp.155-6, 165.

decoration.[204] Instead, the painters Poerson and Hallé were employed to execute the arch's figurative devices and large-format canvas, while L'Homme, Francart and Bacot, more painters, were responsible for executing its architectural forms and the paint effects that mimicked gold and marble.[205] Poerson and Hallé were senior partners in the enterprise, as they were charged with enforcing Le Brun's design to the letter, by ensuring the execution of '*tous les ouvrages de peinturs mentionnez*' in the *marché*.[206] As elsewhere, the actual structure was built in collaboration with Noblet.[207]

Contracts made with the individual artists included information about the scale of the occasional architecture, and the materials and techniques that were used. The level of detail employed suggested those aspects of the design that were deemed to be most, and least, important, with symbolic devices, the composition of large painted canvases, and the architectural orders receiving greatest attention. Significantly, these were the aspect of the design that were responsible for conveying the event's political and cultural ideals, most notably the peace, plenty and prosperity that were being actively associated with Louis's marriage to Maria-Teresa.

The painter Mélin's *marché* detailed the design of the triumphal arch erected just beyond Porte Saint-Antoine, and gives a good sense of the content of the other contracts. **(Fig.9.)** The arch was made in wood, decorated with depictions of allegorical figures and scenes, and painted to mimic the appearance of more costly materials, in this case, bronze and marble. Mélin's instructions were rigorously worded, implying the anxieties felt by the *Prévôt de marchands et échevins*: the concern that the most visible aspect of the *entrée*'s design – its triumphal architecture – was executed according to plan:

*…toutes les architectures de bois et de rondes bosses d'un ordre dorique composé de piedz destaux, bazes, colonnes, chapiteaux, architraves, frizes et corniches, et les architectures collorées de marbre blanc à la réserve des collonnes, lesquelles seront peintes de couleur*

204 Claire Constans, 'Le Brun, Charles', *Grove Art Online: Oxford Art Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [2008]), <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T049857> [accessed 20 September 2011].

205 A.N., Paris, Minutier Central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 16 June 1660.

206 '…all the painting work mentioned'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 1660.

207 ibid.

*de marbre d'afrique ou de quelque autre beau marbre colloré, les bases et chapiteaux desdites collonnes y seront de coleur de bronze et bronzées…*[208]

Somewhat perversely, the document was less rigorous in its appraisal of what some of the figurative elements in the arch's decoration should look like: the four figures that decorated the arch were simply to '*représentans telz personages qu'il plaira à mesdits sieurs ordonner*'.[209]

This level of detail was fairly standard across the *marché*. However, the most detailed descriptions were reserved for the composition of the large-format painted canvasses that were the main decorative feature of the triumphal arches at Pont Notre-Dame and Place Dauphine. Henri and Charles Beaubrun supervised the production of the huge canvas that decorated the triumphal arch at one end of Pont Notre-Dame. **(Fig.11.)** It depicted Louis, Maria-Teresa and Anne of Austria, the Queen Mother, in appropriate mythological guise, by showing '*une Junon soubz le visage de la resemblance de la royne mère*', sending Iris and Mercury, messengers of the Roman gods, to Hymen, Greek god of wedding ceremonies, bearing portraits of the young couple.[210] The *marché* also stipulated that the composition included '*un paisage de verdure représentant la fertilité*', which left no doubt as to the hoped for outcome to this particular dynastic wedding.[211]

Poerson and Hallé's canvas for the arch in Place Dauphine continued the nuptial theme, and was meant to show Louis and Maria-Teresa in Hymen's chariot being pulled by 'un cocq et un lyon' ['a cockerel and a lion'], the heraldic beasts of France and Spain respectively. **(Fig.13.)** The rest of the composition dealt with the timely themes of war and peace.[212] On one side of the chariot, '*la concorde terrassant la guerre et la discorde et autres monstres*', while on the other was '*paix ou la [a]bondance qui présente les sciances,*

208 '…all the wood and ronde-bosse architectural features [will be] in the Doric order, [and] composed of pedestals, bases, columns, capitals, architraves, friezes and cornices; and the architectural forms coloured like white marble, except the columns, which will be painted in the colour of African marble or another beautiful marble; and the bases and the capitals of the said columns will be the colour of bronze or bronzed…'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 5 May 1660.

209 '…representing such characters as it pleases the said sires to order'. ibid.

210 '…a Juno, whose face was similar to the Queen Mother's'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 11 May 1660.

211 '…a lush, green landscape symbolising fertility'. ibid.

212 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 16 June 1660.

*artz et vertus à leurs maiestez*'.[213] The *marché* also stipulated that the painting should mimic the appearance of a tapestry ['*sera fein comme une tappisserye*'].[214] A thick border surrounded the main composition, making space for yet more symbolic content. The two verticals were '*chargé de fleur de lis d'or*'[215], a symbol of the French crown, while the horizontals were decorated in '*la façon de l'Ordre du Sainct Esprit*'.[216] The latter was the senior chivalric order in France, and its symbol was composed of Maltese crosses and yet more fleur-de-lis.

Smaller decorative motifs were also described in some detail. These were symbolic devices that helped forge the *entrée*'s ideological agendas, and included figures from Greek and Roman mythology, hallmarks of royal power and heraldic devices. The *marché* for the arch just outside Porte Saint-Antoine stipulated the addition of '*une devise ou teste de Minerve*' that was '*entourée de lauriers*'.[217] The triumphal arches at Pont Notre-Dame and Marché Neuf were, likewise, covered with hallmarks of royal power. The front of the Pont Notre-Dame was embellished with '*deux grandes figures assizes et couches sur icelluy qui tiendront quelques chiffres, couronnes ou armes du roy et las reyne collorée et relevée en or*'.[218] At Marché-Neuf, '*des armes de France*' were placed above the '*deux petitz arc*'[219] that were on either side of the structure's main opening, while the same places on the reverse of the arch were to be decorated with '*deux médailles des portraictz de marbres ou de bronze*' of the king and queen.[220]

The paramount importance of getting aspects of the ideological design right is best illustrated by an example from London. In November 1684, two employees of the Office of Ordnance, Woolferman and Nelson, involved in producing a firework display to celebrate the birthday of Catherine of Braganza were 'suspended from their employment' after the event, after being suspected of the sabotage of the 'ffort ffires in

213 '…concord defeating war and discord and other monsters'; '…peace or abundance presenting the sciences, arts and vertues to their majesties'. ibid.

214 ibid.

215 '…filled with gold fleur-de-lis'. ibid.

216 '…the fashion of the Order of the Holy Spirit'. ibid.

217 '…a device or head of Minerva'; '…surrounded by laurels'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, fol. 1[r]: 5 May 1660.

218 '…two large figures, seated and reclining, holding ciphers, crowns or arms of the king and queen, coloured and picked out in gold'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 11 May 1660.

219 '…two small arch[es]'. ibid.

220 '…two marble or bronze portrait medals'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 11 May.

ye designs of his Ma[jestie]s Crowne & Character', with the latter term denoting Charles II's personal cipher.[221] So serious was the incident that all 'ffireworkers or Labourers as worked under them' had their wages frozen 'until they shall declare w[ha]t they knowe in this matter'.[222] It would appear that the Ordnance did not reinstate Woolferman and Nelson as employees, but we cannot say with any degree of certainty how the situation was resolved.[223] However, as a brief insight into the preparation of decorative motifs, this episode is highly revealing of the anxiety that underpinned the design and execution of apparatus, in particular the decorative motifs that were hallmarks of royal power.

Elsewhere, the *marché* were noticeably more vague. Mélin, designer of the triumphal arch beyond Porte Saint-Antoine, was asked to devise '*des trophées de symphonies ou telles autres qu'ilz désireront mesdits sieurs*'.[224] Likewise, the Beaubrun cousins, Charles and Henri, were requested to embellish the arch at Pont Notre-Dame with four figures that were '*plus grande que nature représentant telle personne ou figure qui sera donné par lesdits sieurs*'.[225] In both cases, reference to the '*sieurs*' would suggest leeway for additional involvement in each decorative scheme on the part of the *Bureau de la Ville*, indicating that not all aspects of the design had been firmed up when the contracts were initially signed, or that the artists involved had been trusted to interpret less significant decorative features as they saw fit.

The *marché* also provided substantial information about the structure and construction of the triumphal arches. Attention to details of architectural form indicated the cultural ideals being invested in the structures, which promoted the excellence of France in

221 N.R.A., London, W/O 47/14, 18 November 1684 [n.p].

222 ibid.

223 This statement is based on a study of the Office of Ordnance's minute books (N.R.A., London, W/O 47, vols. 5-25) and debenture books (N.R.A., London W/O 51, vols. 3-62), which do not mention either Woolferman or Nelson after the incident in November 1684.

224 '…trophies of musical instruments, or such others that the sieurs [the Prévôt des marchands et échevins] desired'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 5 May 1660.

225 '…larger than life, representing such person[s] or figure[s] that will be given by the sieurs [the Prévôt des marchands et échevins]'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 11 May 1660.

understanding in theory, then executing in practice, the Classical architectural orders.[226] The triumphal arch at one end of Pont Notre-Dame had '*ses pied estaux, basses et chapiteaux, architraves, frizes et corniche…composé d'ordre ionique*'.[227] The arch at Marché-Neuf was partially constructed in '*l'ordre corinthien*' ['Corinthian order'], comprising '*une grande niche ou cul de four, comme seroit la façarde d'un grand et beau pallais anticque*' ['a large niche or half dome, like the façade of a large, beautiful antique palace']. While the arch at Place Dauphine was in the '*ordre ionique*' with a *'une attique dessus et une obelisque par derrière, sçavoir l'ordre ionicque sera avec la corniche, frize et architrasve enrichie de touttes ses moulures remplyes d'or matte convenable audit ordre*'.[228]

The *marché* also outlined the colour scheme of individual triumphal arches. These references were typically vague, leaving the precise shade or paint effect at the discretion of the artist, but indicated the extent to which the wooden structures were painted to look like more durable materials, like marble, stone, bronze and gold. The triumphal arch just outside Porte Saint-Antoine was painted in various shades of '*marbre*' or '*bronzés*'. Marché-Neuf was painted in shades of '*marbre*', '*stucq*', '*bronzés*' and '*pierres diverses*'.[229] More unusually, the decorative features on the triumphal arch at Pont Notre-Dame were to be painted '*jaune*', or 'yellow'.[230] L'Homme, Francart and Bacot's *marché* for the arch at Place Dauphine gave more sense of the application of the colour effects: the cornice, frieze and architrave were painted to mimic gold and '*marbre gris*'[231]; the capitals and bases of the columns were gold; the '*termes*' representing '*les*

226 Stevenson's account of occasional architecture in seventeenth-century London provides a stimulating account of the cultural ideals invested in this type of structure that far exceeds the scope of this dissertation. See: Stevenson, 'Occasional Architecture', pp.35-74.

227 '…its pedestals, bases, capitals, architraves, friezes and cornice… devised in the ionic order'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 11 May 1660.

228 '…ionic order'; '…an attic level above and an obelisk behind, know that the ionic order will be composed of a cornice, frieze and architrave, with the mouldings enriched by being filled with gold, as befits the said order'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 16 June 1660.

229 'marble'; 'stucco'; 'bronze'; and 'diverse stones'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 5 June 1660.

230 One wonders, here, whether 'jaune' actually refers to a yellow shade of marble or stone. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 11 May 1660.

231 'grey marble'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 16 June.

*quatre élémentz*' were bronzed; and the '*les corps d'architecture' painted 'comme marbre*'.[232]

Other references to construction appeared to be motivated by the need to save time, money and materials, or to ensure more efficient working practices. This was particularly evident in *marché* that mentioned the back of structures. At Pont Notre-Dame, the back of the triumphal arch designed by the Beaubruns was adorned with '*tapissé aux soings*' ['silken tapestries'].[233] Likewise, Dorigny and Tortebat's triumphal arch at Marché-Neuf was only painted on the side that faced out onto [Place] Notre-Dame.[234] These tantalising glimpses suggest the theatricality inherent in occasional architecture, with some structures only being decorated on those sides that faced the audience.

Rare surviving fragments of triumphal architecture in Antwerp's Vleeshuis Museum provide compelling evidence of what parts of the triumphal architecture might have looked like. These objects fill in some of the gaps left by other types of evidence, most notably two-dimensional representations of occasional architecture, and the contracts or *marché* that relate to the commission and construction of individual structures. With these sources, it is difficult to get a proper sense of the physical impact triumphal architecture had, with issues such as colour and scale proving especially elusive. The Vleeshuis Museum's wooden, painted allegorical figures adorned temporary structures built for festival occasions in Antwerp. The earliest, a representation of *Peace*, or *Pax*, as a seated woman is a flat cut out painted in oils on chased wooden boards. **(Fig.16.)** Made as part of the city's celebration of the Peace of Münster in 1648, *Pax* was included in contemporary representations by the engraver Wenceslaus Hollar and the painter Maximiliaen Pauwels, which show the figure in situ. **(Fig.17.)** By 'herself' *Pax* is more than two metres tall, but as both images illustrate 'she' merely formed the pinnacle of the imposing temporary portico attached to Antwerp's *Stadhuis,* or City Hall.[235] Notably,

232 'like marble'. ibid.

233 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 11 May 1660.

234 'doibt ester peint d'un costé faisant face sur leur marché neuf du costé de [Place] Notre Dame'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 16 June 1660.

235 J. Van Der Stock (ed.), *Antwerp: Story of a Metropolis, 16th – 17th Century* (Gent : Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1993), pp.315-17.

both images show the figure of *Pax* as a three-dimensional entity, directly contradicting the evidence of the object.

The Vleeshuis Museum owns an additional series of six female allegorical figures, which were devised on a similar scale and employed similar decorative techniques. Each of the figures is over two metres tall: the smallest, *Liberalitas* (Generosity), measured 2.22 m, with the tallest, *Clementia* (Mercy), measuring 2.74 m. Like *Pax*, they were made using chased wooden boards that were painted with oil-based paints. The figures were initially produced to decorate a ceremonial *chapelle ardente* in Antwerp Cathedral, which was built to mark the death of Felipe IV of Spain in 1665, but they were resurrected to very different ends in 1685, when they were used to decorate a triumphal arch erected on the Kaasrui as part of centenary celebrations for Antwerp's recapture by Spanish forces in 1585.[236] Lucas II Vosterman (1665) and Gaspar Bauttats (1685) produced representations of the occasions, showing the figures as relatively minor additions to much larger temporary structures, and investing them with a three-dimensionality that was at odds with the flatness of the surviving objects.

The physical impact of the occasional architecture built for Louis's *entrée* must invariably be tied to its colossal size. The *marché* reveal that these structures were absolutely huge, and by means of scale alone had a transformative effect on Paris's urban environment. Although the measurements cited in individual documents cannot be treated as exact indications of the size of completed structures, they do successfully convey that these were conceived on the grandest scale. Take, for example, the first arch on the processional route, as built on Faubourg Saint-Antoine, was approximately forty foot tall. Its lower section was composed of six Doric '*collonnes*', each measuring '*trente trios piedz de hault*', and an upper storey or '*attique*' of '*sept pied et demy*'.[237]

236 Ibid, p.327. A chapelle ardente, or 'burning chapel', was the room where the monarch, or other exalted person lay in state before his or her funeral. The notion of 'burning' evokes the many candles that blazed around the body of the deceased, or the ceremonial catafalque.

237 'thirty three feet high'; 'seven and a half feet'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 5 May 1660.

The next temporary arch at Le Parnasse measured '*quatre thoises de large, seize pieds de vuide pour le passage, et trios thoises et demy soubz clef*'.[238] The third temporary arch, situated at one end of Pont Notre-Dame, was on a similarly grand scale. It measured '*vingtung piedz*' across, had an opening, or '*vuide*', measuring '*treize piedz*', and was '*quatre piedz de chacun costé*' to accommodate columns.[239] The attic, or upper story, was '*au milieu de dix pieds de large sur douze pieds de hault*'.[240]

The next arch, built at Marché-Neuf, seems to have been the largest structure built for the *entrée*. It was designed to support the weight of a canvas by the painters Dorigny and Tortebat, which had dimensions of '*quinze piedz de large sur dix à douze de hault*'.[241] The structure itself, more akin to an elaborate frame, was massive, measuring '*d'environ sept thoisses de largeur et neuf ou environ de hault*'.[242] Its frame was assembled from pieces of '*bon bois de sapin*' of '*quatre à cinq poulces de large*' and '*d'un poulce d'espoix*'.[243] The canvas was set at a height of six feet, to prevent the crowds of people from bursting through it ('*à la haulteur de six piedz de hault affin de résister à ce que le thoilles ne puissant ester crevée par la foulle*').[244]

Unusually, few dimensions were stipulated for the final arch, which was installed at the '*embouchure*' ('entrance') to Place Dauphine, '*vis-à-vis le cheval de bronze*'.[245] However, a

238 '…twenty-four feet wide, [with an] opening measuring sixteen feet, and eighteen feet below the key stone [i.e. the archway was eighteen feet high]'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 17 June. A 'thoise', or 'toise', is a measurement roughly equivalent to six feet long, making 'quatre thoise' twenty-four feet in length, and 'trois thoise' eighteen feet. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1st Edition (1694), *Dictionnaires d'autrefois* (Chicago: University of Chicago, [n.d.]), http://artflx.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos//pubdico1look.pl?strippedhw=toise, [accessed 23 September 2011].

239 'twenty-one feet'; 'thirteen feet'; 'four feet deep on each side'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 11 May 1660.

240 'about ten feet wide by twelve feet high'. ibid.

241 'fifteen feet wide by ten to twelve feet high'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 11 May 1660.

242 'around forty-two feet wide and fifty four feet high'. ibid.

243 'good fir wood'; 'four or five inches wide'; 'one inch deep'. ibid.

244 ibid.

245 'opposite the bronze horse [i.e. the bronze equestrian statue of Henri IV].Equestrian statues were prime symbols of power and military prowess. In France, the combination of equestrian statue and Place Royale became one of the definitive statements of absolutist royal power in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The ultimate royal 'showcases' were Place des Victoires and Place Louis-le-Grand (now Place Vendôme) in Paris, with the latter was dominated by François Girardon's colossal equestrian statue of Louis XIV. The combination of equestrian statue and square was highly influential, both in France, where similar statues were installed at the centre of many towns and cities in the 1680s, and further afield. For further discussion of the political imperative of the equestrian statue see: Burke, *Fabrication of Louis XIV*, pp. 92-7; June Hargrove, *The Statues of Paris: An Open-air Pantheon* (Antwerp: Mercatorfunds, 1989); Claude Mignot, 'Urban Transformations', *The Triumph of the Baroque. architecture in Europe 1600-1750* (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1999), pp. 315-31 (pp.328-9); Michael Webb, *The City Square: A*

*marché* signed by the painters Poerson and Hallé did refer to the structure's main decorative feature, a painting of '*seize piedz du hault sur dix neuf piedz du large*'.[246] The size of this canvas would suggest that the Place Dauphine arch was on a similar scale to the occasion's other triumphal architecture.

Not all the preparations made before Louis's *entrée* were temporary. Pont Notre-Dame and Porte Saint-Antoine were altered permanently, giving some sense of the event's impact in the longer term. The *marché* that described these projects were just as detailed as the contracts for the occasional architecture, and illustrated the extent to which Paris was transformed in order to become a suitable location for a celebration with the political significance of Louis's *entrée*. Vion, a sculptor, was charged with renovating Pont Notre-Dame. All but one of Paris's bridges, Pont Neuf, were lined with houses on both sides, like a regular city street, and Pont Notre-Dame was no exception. However, more unusually for this relatively early date, each of its sixty-eight houses was designed as an identical unit that comprised 'a shop and arcade, as well as a living space.'[247] This regularity cultivated the orderly, harmonious and rational organisation of urban space, as documented in Jean Marot's engraving of Pont Notre-Dame, which illustrated *L'Entrée Triomphante*, the official chronicle of the occasion. **(Fig.14.)**

Each part of the bridge's masonry was to be restored and repaired so that it looked as good as new('*…réparer tout ainsy que s'ilz estoient neufz'*).[248] The majority of the instructions in the document referred to the state of '*les termes estans de deux costez du pont Nostre Dame*'.[249] Somewhat ironically, these decorative features had been applied to the façades in preparation for an event that was abandoned on the most infelicitous terms: the coronation entry of Marie de Médicis on 14 May 1610. This earlier *entrée* had been brought to a sudden, brutal conclusion when Henri IV, Marie's husband, was assassinated on the same day, after his carriage was held up in festival traffic on *rue de*

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*Historical Evolution* (London: Watson-Guptill, 1990), pp.84-8; Rochelle Ziskin, 'The Place de Nos Conquêtes and the Unravelling of the Myth of Louis XIV', *The Art Bulletin*, 76:1 (Mar., 1994), pp.147-62 (pp.147, 151-2).

246 'sixteen feet high by nineteen feet wide'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 16 June 1660.

247 Jones, *Paris*, p.120.

248 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579 [fol.1r]: 3 May 1660.

249 'the terminal figures on both sides of Pont Notre-Dame'. ibid.

*la Ferronnerie*, while the king was en route to visit Maximilien de Béthune, duc de Sully, then ill in the Bastille.[250]

As with the design and construction of the occasional architecture, the restoration of Pont Notre-Dame was comprehensive, attesting to the exhaustive preparations that were typical of Louis's *entrée* as a whole. *Terme* designated '*une sorte de Statuë qui n'a la seule teste, ou demi-corps, & qui finit en forme de pilastre ou de scabellon*'.[251] Tronçon's text gave a stronger sense of what the '*termes*' actually looked like, describing a series of figures in relief ('*taillées de haut relief*') that were bigger than life-size ('*plus grandes que le naturel*') and comprised a head, torso and plinth formed of three sections ('*composez d'vn demycorps, & d'vne gaisne à trois faces*').[252]According to the *marché*, the houses on Pont Notre-Dame were decorated with sixty-five '*termes*' in total, four of which needed to be replaced with entirely new figures ('*…dont quatre à retablir de neuf*').[253] The remaining sixty-one required cleaning and bleaching ('*…les autres nettoyer et blanchir*').[254] With keen attention to detail, this document also stipulated that Pont Notre-Dame's smaller decorative features were restored, cleaned and, where necessary, replaced. These included the '*termes*' hands and arms, the garlands or '*liasses*' they held, the laurels and 'roses on top of the figures' heads and even the plinths.[255]

Regnaudin, sculptor and professor at the *Académie Royale*, produced two more permanent additions in the form of statues in stone for the niches of Porte Saint-Antoine. **(Fig.15.)** The wording of his *marché* employed a similar level of detail in its description of the figures. The first, a figure of Hercules, was intended to represent 'La Force', or 'Strength', and depicted the Classical hero holding his club and wearing a lion's pelt. The second figure, placed in the other niche, was Minerva holding a shield decorated with the coat of arms of France and Spain ('*où seront les armes de France et*

250 Robert J. Knecht, 'The Murder of le roi Henri', *History Today*, vol. 6o, no.5 (June 2010).

251 'A kind of statue composed of a head on its own, or a head and torso, which ends in the form of a pilaster or small pedestal'. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1st Edition (1694), *Dictionnaires d'autrefois* (Chicago: University of Chicago, [n.d.]), http://artflx.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdico1look.pl?strippedhw=terme#ACAD1694 [accessed 23 September 2010].

252 Tronçon 1662, 'Preparatifs dan la Ville de Paris', p.11.

253 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579 [fol.1r]: 3 May 1660.

254 ibid.

255 'mesmes les gayness qui sont au bas dedits termes'. ibid.

*d'Espagne*') and embodied the idea of 'la Prudence'.[256] It was stipulated that the statues would be made in '*pierre de troussy… de la meilleure et bien choisye*' and that both would be made on a substantial scale. Hercules was to be '*environ sept piedz sur quatre piedz et demy de large*', while Minerva was described as '*la mesme haulteur et largeur que la précédente*'.[257]

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This overview of the occasional architecture built for Louis's *entrée* throws light on how temporary structures were designed and constructed. The *marché* issued revealed the collaborative, partially devolved nature of the enterprise, as artists, working alone or in small teams, were commissioned by the *Bureau de la Ville* to oversee the production of individual structures. The wording of the documents, and the high level of detail included, attested to the ideals being invested in the occasion's temporary structures and decorative schemes, most notably the peace, prosperity and plenty that were promoted in relation to Louis's person and his recent marriage to Maria-Teresa.

The *marché* also attested to the anxieties felt by the *entrée*'s organisers, the *Prévôt des marchands et échevins*, and the extent to which they sought to control key elements in the event's design. Typically, these were the parts of the decorative scheme that conveyed its political and cultural ideology, such as the composition of large canvases, heraldic devices and the hallmarks of royal power. The *marché* also suggested the physical impact of the event's occasional architecture, proffering invaluable evidence about colour, scale, materials and techniques. Along with the evidence of the restoration of Pont Notre-Dame and Porte Saint-Antoine, evidence of the occasional architecture intimates the hugely transformative effect of festival on Paris's urban landscape, in both the short and longer term.

256 A.N., Paris, Ville de Paris, Baux à loyer, devis, marchés et memoires de travaux de bâtiments, Contrats passés par Paris pour préparer l'entrée du 26 août 1660, H2.2012, [fol.1 r]: 11 May 1660.

257 '…best quality, well chosen Troussy stone'; 'around seven foot by four and a half foot'; 'the same height and width as the other one'. ibid.

**Designing Scaffolding: Stability, Solidity and Elevation**

Much care was taken to document for posterity the *entrée*'s triumphal arches, amphitheatre and throne dais. By contrast, another type of temporary structure was systematically excised from many images of the event. These scaffolds, or *échafaux*, were built along the processional route and functioned as viewing platforms. Unlike triumphal architecture or the props and scenery made for firework displays, scaffolding did not fulfil a spectacular role. In terms of an occasion's ideological agenda, it could be dismissed as a structure on the periphery, with its exclusion from most depictions of festival further proof of its status as a supporting structure.

And yet, the case study of the *échafaux* built for the *entrée* in 1660 showed that these scaffolds were regarded as essential. Most obviously, they enhanced the experience of an event, saving the lucky few from being part of the on-the-ground throng. More significantly, perhaps, this scaffolding also constituted an attractive commercial opportunity. In 1660, agents of local and national government vied with one another for the right to control its commission, construction and tenure. As the following discussion will suggest, this commercial appeal was, to some extent, underpinned by scaffolding's main structural properties- namely, its elevated height and the speed and ease with which it could be constructed.

Ladame's depiction of the entrée in 1660 showed these *échafaux* at the heart of his composition, belying their status as auxiliary or supporting structures. **(Fig.6.)** The clarity of the depiction makes this image an invaluable source for identifying key design features. In this instance, the *échafaux* were shown as a series of raised platforms adjacent to the processional route, lifting flashily attired spectators, mostly women, above the fray and ensuring them an unencumbered view of proceedings. Significantly, this structure was sturdy enough to hold a sizeable crowd without collapsing, while the presence of rails at the front and sides functioned as additional safety features to prevent those on the scaffold from falling off it. Finally, the inclusion of a cover or shade was most likely a concession to the weather, protecting spectators from the effects of Paris's punishing summer sun.

The ideals invested in scaffolds were implicit, and must be extrapolated from evidence of the actual structures. Ladame's engraving of the *échafaux* built for Louis's *entrée* showed a structure that allowed some spectators a better view of the procession. Using archival evidence, we can establish that those on the scaffolds paid for this benefit, meaning that the structures instituted a form of social differentiation that was based on money. This, in turn, advertised differences in status to the other audiences that were also present. And, so, using this small vignette, we can begin to outline some of the ideals that were invested in this kind of structure. These can be categorised as functional, in relation to the structural stability and elevation expected of *échafaux*; social, because the structures confirmed crucial differences in spectator status; and commercial, because they provided enterprising Parisians with the opportunity to capitalise on the desire of some audience members to get a better view and, at the same time, display this to others who were present.

Similarly, where the main design imperatives behind triumphal architecture can be discovered in festival books, design documentation and contracts, any remarks regarding the design ideas that informed scaffolding are much more speculative. Planning permission granted to individual claimants before the entrée in 1660 provides vital evidence that different types of structure were built to fulfil the same broad design brief: to elevate and support the weight of spectators at an elevated height, which sheds light on the functional ideals invested in the scaffolds. Thomas Endebert '*et consorts*' were permitted to build '*galeries, Loges Et Eschaffaux*', while Dancerains and Deschampes, two of the king's *valets de pieds*, were granted permission to build much more utilitarian sounding '*eschaffaux*'.[258] The definition in the 1694 edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, the dictionary most contemporary to the events covered by this thesis, defined the '*eschafaut*' built before public festival as an:

*…ouvrage de Charpenterie eslevez ordinairement par degrez en forme d'amphitheatre, pour voir plus commodément des ceremonies publiques ou autres spectacles. On avoit dressé des eschafauts pour les Ambassadeurs, pour la Cour, pour la musique*.[259]

258 'galleries, loggias and scaffolds'. A.N., Paris, K1000, no.253.316 [8r], 28 July 1660; A.N. Paris, K1000, no.321.

259 '…[a] wooden structure typically erected in stages in the form of an amphitheatre to facilitate a better view of public rituals or other spectacles. Scaffolds were built for ambassadors, the court, [and] for musical performances.' *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*

This judgement also stood in the 1762 edition of the *Dictionnaire*, where the definition of the scaffolding built for festival was practically identical.[260] In both instances, emphasis was placed on the materials used – wood – and the manner of construction with the phrase '*eslevez ordinairement par degrez*' suggesting that scaffolds were to some extent prefabricated off site, before being assembled in situ, an issue that will be discussed in greater detail below. To draw out another term used in Endebert's contract, a '*galerie*' was defined architecturally as the '*certain lieu d'une maison beaucoup plus long que large, pour se promener à couvert*' which seems to imply a form of scaffold that had some form of roof, providing shade for seated spectators.[261] This term was also suggestive of a covered walkway. Likewise, a '*loge*', or 'loggia', was a '*petite hutte faite à la haste*' or '*un petit reduit fait de cloisonnage, & capable de contenir cinq ou six personnes*'. [262]

The absence of conclusive descriptions or representations of the scaffolds built for public festival makes sensible points of comparison necessary. To some extent, drawing such comparisons is entirely appropriate, as it highlights overlap in construction and functionality. Contemporary definitions showed that scaffolds and *échafaux* had other applications. Although festival and celebration are the explicit focus of this discussion, evidence of related structures can be used to develop our understanding of scaffolding's key design features and, more importantly, their social and commercial implications.

For most people, scaffolding is most readily associated with the construction industry, functioning as a highly visible, often unsightly addition to the urban landscape. This was as true of the early modern period, when scaffolding was used to facilitate building,

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*française*, 1st Edition (1694), *Dictionnaires d'autrefois* (Chicago: University of Chicago, [n.d.]), http://artflx.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos//pubdico1look.pl?strippedhw=eschafaut [accessed 23 September 2010].

260 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 4th edn. (1762), *Dictionnaires d'autrefois*, http://artflx.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos//pubdico1look.pl?strippedhw=echafaud [accessed 23 September 2010].

261 'the part of house, longer than it is wide, that allows one to promenade under cover'. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1st Edition (1694), *Dictionnaires d'autrefois* (Chicago: University of Chicago, [n.d.]), http://artflx.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdico1look.pl?strippedhw=galerie&headword=&docyear=ALL&dicoid=ALL [accessed 23 September 2010].

262 'small, speedily constructed hut'; ('a little room, partitioned off, able to accommodate five or six people'). *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1st Edition (1694), *Dictionnaires d'autrefois* (Chicago: University of Chicago, [n.d.]), http://artflx.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdico1look.pl?strippedhw=loge&headword=&docyear=ALL&dicoid=ALL [accessed 23 September 2010].

restoration and repair work. In L.F. Salzman's review of medieval and early modern building techniques, 'For the building of anything more than a breast-high wall some kind of scaffold was necessary.'[263] Jack Bowyer was even more specific, arguing for any building work over 1.20m (4ft) in height a scaffold of some kind was necessary.' In practice, this might constitute a 'trestle table, or it might comprise a framework of some complexity such as would be used today.'[264]

Antoine Moles's *Histoire des Charpentiers* elaborated by describing the 'object principal' ('primary objective') of construction site scaffolding as:

*…d'élever les ouvriers à la hauteur du travail qu'ils ont à executer, de soutenur à leurs portée les materiaux dont ils besoin, de recevoir le material et les agrès necessaries à ces travaux et, quelquefois, d'en faciliter une bonne execution en présentant momentanément des points d'appui et soutien aux parties en formation ou à leurs coffrages en attendant leur achievement.*[265]

As with the viewing platforms built before festival, construction scaffolding was intended to be load bearing. It supported the weight of a workforce, its tools and materials, thereby permitting them to conduct work at a height that would not be physically possible otherwise. It mattered, too, that it was built to be sturdy. This was best demonstrated by those occasions when structural integrity was compromised, and the scaffold failed to fulfil its functional ideals. The results could be disastrous. In one harrowing episode from 1699, a child 'coming into the Street was struck dead by the fall of Scaffold erected for the building of a House' in Shorts Gardens, off Drury Lane, London, while the 'men upon it narrowly escaped the same fate.'[266]

The viewing platforms built before public executions offer another valuable point of comparison, and illustrate the extent to which stability and elevation underpinned the construction and design of temporary platforms. The term scaffold was strongly

263 L.F. Salzman, *Building in England Down to 1540: A Documentary History* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1967), p.318.

264 Jack Bowyer, *History of Building* (London: Granada, 1973), p.136.

265 '…to elevate workers to the same height as their work, to support the weight of necessary materials, to hold the materials and necessary tools, and to allow the proper execution of the work by providing temporary points of support, keeping the parties in position to complete their construction work'. Antoine Moles, *Histoire de Charpentiers: Leurs Travails* (Paris: Librarie Gründ, 1949), p.350.

266 Saturday, 9 December 1699, *Postman and Historical Account* (London, England); issue 687.

associated with capital and corporeal punishment in London and Paris, with scholarly appraisals of the subject using 'scaffold' interchangeably with more technically specific terms such as 'gallows' and 'block'. However, the scaffold, as the actual site of execution, is not a central concern of this thesis. The structures built to accommodate these activities differed from the viewing platforms built for public celebrations. For example, the infamous gallows at Tyburn, popularly known as the 'Triple Tree', was a combination of fixed and impermanent parts. The gallows itself consisted of 'three posts, ten or twelve feet high, held apart by three connecting cross-bars at the top'.[267] The condemned were brought in on carts, or made to stand on ladders leant against the permanent framework, before these more mobile components were pulled away at the moment of execution.[268]

More useful is Wenceslaus Hollar's engraving of the execution of Thomas Wentworth, which depicted a huge crowd watching the gruesome spectacle of the Earl of Strafford's beheading on 12 May 1641. **(Fig.18.)** The scale of the crowd and range of different kinds of viewing platforms depicted deftly illustrated the kinds of design issues posed by major out-of-door spectacles. Spectators were shown packed into tiered seating and standing-only platforms. To the left of the composition, one stand was shown as fit to burst, with the sight of ever more men being pushed onto it reminiscent of modern public transport at rush hour. Towards the back of the crowd, other spectators were shown on top of stacked blocks or crates, in what were presumably the occasion's 'cheap seats'.

Likewise, John Hamilton's drawing of the crowd watching 'Guest the banker's clerk' being hanged on 14 October 1767 (N.S.) was another vivid evocation of the precariousness of the viewing strategies employed, this time at Tyburn, the main site of

267 Paul Linebaugh, 'The Tyburn Riot Against the Surgeons', *Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Douglas Hay et al (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), pp.65-117 (p.66). For further discussion of public executions during the period, see: Pierre Bastien, 'Fête populaire ou ceremonial d'Etat? Le rituel de l'exécution publique selon deux bourgeois de Paris (1718-1789), *French Historical Studies*, 24:3 (2001), pp.501-26; Simon Devereaux, 'Recasting the Theatre of Execution: The Abolition of the Tyburn Ritual', *Past and Present*, 202 (Feb., 2009), pp.127-74; Lorna Hutson, 'Rethinking the "Spectacle of the Scaffold": Juridical Epistemologies and English Revenge Tragedy', *Representations*, 89 (2005), pp.30-58; James Anthony Sharpe, '"Last dying speeches": Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-century England', *Past and Present*, 107 (1985), pp.144-67.

268 Andrea McKenzie, *Tyburn's Martyrs: Execution in England, 1675-1775* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007),pp.2-3, 5.

public executions in London. **(Fig.19.)** It showed the back of the 'sort of amphitheatre' that stood near the gallows, where spectators could pay for a better view, with the ticket price reaching as much as 2 shillings by the middle of the eighteenth century.[269] The structure depicted in Hamilton's drawing comprised an elevated, wooden platform, incorporating tiered seating on the right-hand side, presumably the event's better seats, with standing room on the left. The social distinction in viewing experiences was borne out by the rather alarming spectacle of figures swaying at the top of ladders, which was explained by means of an annotation added on 13 June 1795 to the bottom of the drawing:

> It was the custom of Lamplighters in those days to Erect their Ladders together for persons to mount them at 2d & 3d each to see the Execution. Some of their partys frequently puled down the ladders to get fresh customers to mount.[270]

Viewing platforms at both Tyburn and Execution Dock in Wapping were known to have collapsed on more than one occasion during the eighteenth century, with the executions of the most well-known and diabolical criminals attracting the biggest crowds.[271] In 1726, the notorious murderess Catherine Hayes was burnt at Tyburn for petty treason, attracting a huge number of people.[272] As Andrea McKenzie notes, 'three sections of the scaffolding were reported to have collapsed at different time' during the execution. With ironical appreciation of the episode, she remarks that although this caused injury to many of those present, it failed to 'deter spectators', who quickly 'gathered upon it again in numbers'.[273]

To dwell on the social ideals invested in scaffolds, Tronçon's *L'Entrée Triomphante* described the structures built to support the weight of the most important spectators present: the '*amphiteatre*' in Place Dauphine and the '*trône-dais*' erected beyond the city walls. The latter constituted the most elaborate form of temporary viewing platform, which reflected the importance of the people who sat or stood on it. It was:

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269 McKenzie, *Tyburn's Martyrs*, p.13.

270 John Hamilton, View of Tyburn at an execution, 1883,0714.103, Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London.

271 *Post Man*, 24-26 November 1696 (London, England); *The Ordinary of Newgate His Account*, 14 March 1759, p.14; *Penny London Post*, 5-8 October 1750 (London, England); *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 3-5 December 1770 (London, England); London Magazine, January 1776 (London, England); *Morning Chronicle*, 30 January 1777 (London, England).

272 *Daily Journal*, 10 May 1726, (London, England).

273 McKenzie, *Tyburn's Martyrs*, pp.13-14.

*…vne Estrade de trente-six pieds de long, sur vingt & vn de large, à laquelle on montoit de trois costez par dix-huict marches, & plus en quelques endroits à cause de l'inegalité du rez de chaussée, chacune d'vn pied de giron; sa couuerture en forme de pauillion, estoit portée sur quatre pilaster de hauteur, & de force proportionée à la grandeur de l'Edifice, qui soustenoient vne corniche taillée en saillie, selon l'ordre Corinthien*.[274]

Tronçon's description may not reflect the reality of the built structure, but it does give the reader a strong impression of the properties associated with the most impressive temporary viewing platforms – stability, height and grandeur – characteristics that were reiterated in Marot's engraving, which showed a scaffold fit for a king. **(Fig.8.)**

The dictionary definitions and Tronçon's description of the '*trône-dais*' suggested the existence of a slightly better class of scaffold, where the addition of a roof and, in some instances, walls, displayed the higher status of the people on – or in – the structure. Contemporary English examples confirmed the extent to which the addition of particular functional features signalled social and commercial ideals. These also demonstrated the extent to which the functional, social and commercial ideals were linked. Most notably, advertisements posted in newspapers promoted the comparative advantages of stands built in London, which were available for willing spectators to rent. Scaffolds built before the coronation of George I on 20 October 1714 suggested both the range of structures built, as well as the level of competition that existed between different providers of what was effectively the same service.

In Westminster alone, three stands were advertised in the vicinity of the Abbey, site of the coronation. There were 'Places to Lett' upon 'the Scaffolding without Side the Gate-House, for seeing the king 'go to be crown'd and come back again.'[275] The structure was described as 'being the strongest Building of any' and offered the additional comfort of access to 'Retiring-Rooms to refresh'.[276] Other scaffolds built for the same occasion also made a selling point of cosiness and warmth, hardly surprising when one considers that

274 '…a platform thirty-six feet long and twenty-one feet wide, which could be ascended by eighteen steps on three of its sides – more in some places because of its unequal height at ground level – the tread of each step being one-step wide; its roof, in the style of a pavilion, was supported by four tall pillars, as strong as the edifice was grand, which held a projecting cornice, which was carved, following the Corinthian order.' *Tronçon 1662*, 'Preparatifs dans la Ville de Paris', p.33.

275 Saturday, 16 October 1714, *Post Boy (1695)* (London, England), issue 3034.

276 ibid.

the coronation took place in late October. One stand, built 'each Side next the West-Door of Westminster-Abbey' was described as 'secured from Rain, well lined and matted, with very Convenient Rooms to retire to with Pleasure'.[277] Mr Rose, an undertaker, offered a scaffold that offered similar protection from the elements, as it was 'warm' and lin'd with Cloth or Tapestry, and Carpets hanging down, and the seats covered with Cloth, and very dry and ornamental.'[278]

The descriptions of the stands erected before the coronation of George I recalled an earlier engraving of Charles II attending the races at Windsor in 1684, with the grandstand built for the king and his entourage dominating the right-hand side of the artist Francis Barlow's composition. **(Fig.21.)** It is worth dwelling on the representation of this structure at some length, as it brings into focus aspects of the textual descriptions we have already considered. The grandstand appears to be constructed using wooden boards. It was effectively an elevated shed, with a roof and walls on at least two of its four sides. The front of the stand, looking onto the horse race in progress, was only partially enclosed, with a boarded-in section stopping approximately at waist height. The latter was decorated with two large textiles draped over the sill. On the left-hand side of the stand, a handrail is visible, which, one presumes, indicates the presence of steps.

Elements of the design of this structure appear to corroborate details included in the advertisements, contracts for planning permission and dictionary definitions in both France and England. Most notably, the depiction of the stand as a roofed, partially enclosed structure was remarkably similar to the definition of the '*loge*', as a boxed-in enclosure with roof, while the use of textiles at the front of Barlow's grandstand was reminiscent of the viewing platforms erected in the vicinity of Westminster Abbey on the occasion of George I's coronation. However, Barlow did not produce the image until 1687, some two years after Charles's death, meaning that this image also constituted an idealisation of a particular register of royal behaviour. Antony Griffiths has described Barlow as 'the chief producer of Whig propaganda during the Popish Plot'.[279] With this

277 Thursday 14 October 1714, *Daily Courant* (London, England), issue 4048.

278 Thursday, 14 October 1714, *Post Man and the Historical Account* (London, England), issue 11050.

279 Antony Griffths, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689* (London: British Museum, 1998), p.140.

in mind, it is possible to interpret this image as a covert critique of James II, who had been on the throne since 1685, in its presentation of Charles as a monarch who publicly took pleasure in the same pursuits as his subjects – a representation that was at odds with James's reputation for being awkward and distant.[280]

Evidence of the stands built for an earlier royal racegoer, Elizabeth I, provides additional information about the construction of temporary viewing platforms. The Works Account, 31 March 1586 – 31 March 1587, included details of the preparations made before the race meetings attended by Elizabeth and 'ye noblemen, and ladies'. [281] On these occasions, the royal stand, or 'frame' was ferried across the river from the stores at Whitehall to Croydon, where it was erected. After the race meeting, the stands were dismantled and returned to Whitehall, where they were kept until next needed. That the frames were brought out of the stores before the races – and not made from scratch on site – would imply that they were already partially assembled, and made to be erected and dismantled with some speed, an issue of construction we will consider in greater detail below in relation to the concept of scheduling.

**Countdown to 26 August 1660: Scheduling Temporary Structures**

In 1660, triumphal architecture and temporary viewing platforms fulfilled design objectives. The event's triumphal arches, *trône-dais* and *amphiteatre* were devised to promote and reinforce the occasion's main ideological agenda, while the *échafaux* erected as viewing platforms provided spectators with a better view of proceedings without undue risk to their personal safety. This section will consider when and how these structures appeared throughout the city, and the extent to which these processes – of scheduling and construction – can be used as evidence of control, conflict and contestation.

280 For more about the studiously 'informal' character of Charles II's kingship, see: Brian Weiser, *Charles II and the Politics of Access* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003). I have found useful the following biographical accounts of the monarchs: Ronald Hutton, *Charles the Second: King of England, Scotland and Ireland*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); John Miller, *James II*, 3rd edn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978).

281 N.R.A., London, E 351/3221. Full transcript available in: Marion Calthorpe, 'Queen Elizabeth and the Croydon horse race, with a check-list of the Queen's visits to Croydon', *Surrey Archaeological Collections: Relating to the History and Antiquities of the County*, vol.77 (1986), pp.181-186.

The *marché* drawn up in 1660 provided valuable evidence of the expectations of those involved in producing triumphal architecture. These documents illuminated the networks of commission, design and construction that resulted in the production of one part of the occasion's overall decorative scheme, with nine painters, six sculptors and one master carpenter all contracted to work on the occasional architecture. In each instance, named makers and designers were employed in a supervisory role to oversee the efforts of larger teams of workmen.

**Months Before Louis's *Entrée***

Work began on the triumphal architecture months before the *entrée.* When the contracts were drawn up, each document was shaped by the professional anxieties of two groups of people: the men who coordinated the *entrée*, the *Bureau de la Ville*, as a whole and the artists and designers charged with realising the occasion's scenic apparatus. One can only imagine the kind of discussions that took place and the different personalities that shaped the content of the *marché*, but it is useful to approach these contracts as end products in their own right, with their content a partial record of the discussions that took place during key planning meetings before a celebration.

These discussions effectively treated each temporary structure as a separate project and detailed all aspects of construction and design including size, cost, iconography, and the materials and decorative finishes that were to be used. To an extent, we can establish who was involved in the decision making process, as each document was signed by representatives from the City's municipal government, who met with distinguished painters, sculptors and, in one case, a *maître menuisier*, or master carpenter, to agree upon the desired form and content of each part of the occasion's triumphal architecture.

All but two of the contracts were signed by the same group of high-ranking civic dignitaries: Alexandre de Sève, '*Chevalier de Chastigonville, Chastillon le Roy et autres lieux*' and *Prévôt des Marchands*; Nicolas Baudequin, *conseiller de ville*; Claude Provost and Maître Charles du Jour, *conseiller du roy au siège présidial du Châtelet*; Boucot, the

*receveur* and Gaultier, an *échevin*. Each agreement was also signed by the notary, Leroy, and the painter, sculptor or master carpenter employed to produce the occasional architecture. The only exceptions were those contracts made with the sculptor Regnaudin, which was only signed by Gaultier and Regnaudin, and with the painter de Haynault.[282] The latter was, in fact, a modification to an earlier agreement between the *Bureau de la Ville* and the painters Tortebat and Dorigny, who had been commissioned to design and paint a triumphal arch at Marché-Neuf. Significantly, de Haynault's contract suggested that he had been subcontracted to undertake work that the other painters were unable to complete to deadline.[283]

Several of the *marché* were signed on 11 May in the presence of the same group of civic dignitaries- Sève, Baudequin, Prevost, du Jour, Boucot, Gaultier and Leroy.[284] It is not inconceivable, therefore, that these documents were finalised in the course of the same meeting. This has implications for the relationship between the centre, the bureaucrats in charge of the *entrée*'s overall organisation, and the extended team of 'creatives' employed to realise the design and construction of the occasional architecture. Then as now, this type of association was characterized by anxiety. For those who had ultimate responsibility for the success of an event, there was a premium on getting things absolutely right, which, as we have seen, manifested in the attention to detail that characterised the language and content of the *marché*.

Speculating on who was present during these discussions was only part of the issue. As the example of Tortebat, Dorigny and de Haynault inferred, the *marché* can also be used to sketch a timetable for the commission, design and manufacture of triumphal architecture. As each document recorded the date of a meeting and in some cases details of the time it was held at, it is possible to make rough estimates of when work started, as well as putative deadlines for completion.

The first jobs tackled involved the restoration of two of the city's permanent landmarks. On 3 May 1660, the sculptor Vion signed a *marché* with *les Messieurs de Ville* to refresh

282 A.N., Paris, Ville de Paris, Baux à loyer, devis, marchés et memoires de travaux de bâtiments, Contrats passés par Paris pour préparer l'entrée du 26 août 1660, H2.2012, [fol.1 r]; A.N., Paris, Minutier central, CVII, 194: 15 May 1660.

283 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, CVII, 194: 15 mai 1660; A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, fol.1 [r]: 11 mai 1660.

284 These were the marché with Fleurant Lenoir, Henri and Charles Beaubrun, Thomas Regnaudin, Dorigny and Tortebat.

'*décorations*' on Pont Notre-Dame, originally built between 1500 and 1505, but which had lost some of its former glory and, by 1660, was in a state of some disrepair.[285] As we saw above, Vion and his workforce were compelled to refresh all aspects of its elaborate decorative scheme and restore some of the bridge's Classical elegance. A week later, on 11 May, Regnaudin was commissioned to produce two stone statues of Hercules and Minerva that were designed to stand on the '*deux piedz destaux qui seront faict à la première ouverture*' near Porte Saint-Antoine.[286]

Work on temporary structures also began months in advance of Louis's *entrée*. On 5 May, Mélin, painter, received his orders, to '*Devis des ouvrages de peintures, qu'il convient faire pour un arc triompal'* at Faubourg Saint-Antoine.[287] The *maître-menuisier*, or master carpenter, Fleurant Lenoir was also employed on 11 May to oversee the production of '*ouvrages de menuiserye qu'il convient faire pour un arc troimphal proche et attenant l'abbaye de Sainct Anthoine de Champs*'.[288] This was the same triumphal arch designed by Mélin, and painted by his workforce, which was then installed in Faubourg Saint-Antoine. Mélin and his workers painted directly onto the wooden frame, or painted canvases that were then attached to the frames made by Lenoir and his personnel.[289]

Also on 11 May, the painters Henri and Charles Beaubrun received their commission to devise the triumphal arch that stood at one end of Pont Notre-Dame, and Dorigny and Tortebat, also painters, were charged with designing the huge arch at Marché-Neuf.[290] On 15 May, an additional *marché* was issued regarding the construction and design of the arch at Marché-Neuf. The second *marché*, between Tortebat and the painter de Heynault, subcontracted work on the arch, with 'ledict sieur de Henault' employed to

285 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 3 May 1660; Helen Geddes, 'Giocondo (da Verona), Fra Giovanni', *Grove Art Online: Oxford Art Online* [n.d.].

286 'two pedestals made for the first opening'. A.N., Paris, Ville de Paris, Baux à loyer, devis, marchés et memoires de travaux de bâtiments, Contrats passés par Paris pour préparer l'entrée du 26 août 1660, H2.2012, [fol.1 r].

287 'estimate the painted works that should be done for a triumphal arch'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579 [fol.1r]: 5 May 1660.

288 'woodworks necessary for a triumphal arch nearby the abbey of Saint Anthony in the Fields'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579 [fol.1r]: 11 May 1660.

289 'Le corps ou derrière des collonnes sera peint sur les toilles dont les chassis seront fournis par le menuisier'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 11 May 1660.

290 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 11 May 1660.

'ayder aposer et metre en place ledict ouvrage, mesme y retoucher et travailler en cas de bessoing'.[291] De Heynault's main task was to paint the architectural details and apply the paint effects that were intended to make the structure look like marble.

A month later on 16 June, Hallé and Poerson were contracted to oversee the realisation of Le Brun's design for the triumphal arch at the '*amboucheure*' [sic.] of Place Dauphine.[292] While they painted the arch's figurative devices and the large canvas, painted to look like a tapestry, which constituted its main decorative feature, LHomme, Francart and Bacot were employed on the same date to paint its architectural decoration.[293] The next day, on 17 June, Mélin signed an additional *marché*, agreeing to design and supervise the production of a 'montparnasse' at Le Parnasse, with Noblet, Paris's Master of Works, providing labour to construct the arch's structural frame.[294] From Mélin's additional employment, we can infer that he was a particularly adept project manager, who had already completed work on his previous project, the triumphal arch for Faubourg Saint-Antoine, to deadline. Also on 17 June, the *Prévôt des marchands et échevins* requested that more permanent additions were made to Porte Saint-Antoine, when the sculptors Jacquet and Tuby were employed to produce 'deux trophés d'amour' in stone to be placed on both sides of the gate.[295]

The final *marché* relating to the occasional architecture built for Louis's *entrée* was dated 1 July. The sculptors Guyot and Joltrin agreed to make four plaster figures of French kings, St. Louis IX, Henri IV, Louis XIII and Louis XIV. These statues seem to have been something of an afterthought on the part of the *Bureau de la Ville*, as workers and infrastructure were transferred from Mélin's arch at Le Parnasse to work on the project and ensure its completion to deadline. *Le prévôt des marchands et échevins* agreed to provide Guyot and Joltrin with 'les eschafaux, engins, cordages et hommes necessaries pour ayder apozer lesdittes statues'.[296]

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291 'help to put in place the said work, to even retouch it and work as needed'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, CVII, 194: 15 May 1660.

292 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 16 June 1660.

293 ibid.

294 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 17 June 1660.

295 ibid.

296 'scaffolds, tools, ropes and necessary men to help install the aforementioned statues'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 1 July 1660.

**Mechanisms of Incentive**

With so many projects running simultaneously, the *Bureau de la Ville* needed effective mechanisms in place to ensure the temporary structures and permanent improvements to the city were finished to deadline. The *marché* issued between May and July 1660 showcased the mechanisms of incentive that were used to schedule events, thereby guaranteeing that these parts of the event's design were ready well in advance of 26 August, the date of the *entrée*.

The deadlines for completion were set well in advance of this date. Vion's deadline for restoration of Pont Notre-Dame was 15 June, as was Mélin's for his contribution to the Porte Saint-Antoine triumphal arch.[297] By 20 June, Lenoir was contractually obliged to finish his work on the Porte Saint-Antoine arch; Regnaudin his stone statues for the permanent Porte Saint-Antoine; the Beaubruns their work on the triumphal arch for Pont Notre-Dame; and Dorigny and Tortebat their work on the arch at Marché-Neuf.[298] The final major deadline was 15 July, still over a month before the *entrée* took place, by which time Hallé, Poerson, LHomme, Francart and Bacot were meant to have finished work on the triumphal arch for Place Dauphine; Mélin his 'montparnasse'; Jaquet and Tuby the 'trophé d'amour' in stone for the permanent Porte Saint-Antoine; and Guyot and Joltrin the four plaster kings, also for Porte Saint-Antoine.[299]

This was, for want of a better phrase, the concept of the false deadline, a familiar notion to anyone who has ever attempted to finish any project with a serious, non-negotiable deadline. By setting deadlines so far in advance, the *entrée*'s organisers gave themselves breathing space, setting aside time to resolve any problems that arose, and even permitting the time spent on individual projects to overrun. This was, in short, formal, contractual recognition of the old saying, that even the best laid plans of mice and men often go astray. It was common sense that did not go to waste: the *marché* issued to De Heynault on 15 May, to paint the architectural details for the triumphal arch at Marché-Neuf, suggests that work on the temporary structure had already begun to fall behind

297 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 3 May 1660.

298 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 11 May 1660.

299 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 16 June 1660; 17 June 1660; 1 July 1660.

deadline, something that is only reiterated by the extension to Tortebat and Dorigny's deadline, from 20 June to 25 June.[300] One can only speculate, but the need for extra personnel and the slight extension to the project deadline most likely reflected the demands of producing an arch on such a colossal scale.

False deadlines weren't the only strategy available the *Prévôt des marchands et échevins*, who had more hard-nosed tactics at their disposal. Most notably, in all instances, part of the fee was held back, as a guarantee that the work would be completed to deadline. For example, a total of 2082 *livres* were allocated to Vion for total restoration of the Pont Notre-Dame's decorative motifs. This sum was based on the estimate that each of the *termes* would cost 30 *livres tornois* to restore '*y compris le rond des médailles, panniers, gaynes et autres ornements accompagnans iceux*', with a further 132 *livres tornois* to make four *termes* from scratch.[301]

How this money was paid out also suggests the incentives that were at the disposal of *les Messieurs de ville*. The monies allocated for this part of the entrée were paid in stages, with Vion receiving 600 *livres tornois* before he started work, an additional 600 *livres tornois* half-way through the project (*'six cent livres tornoiz lors que lesdits ouvrages seront à moitié faictz'*) and the rest once the job was completed (*'…le reste après le tout faict et parfaict'*).[302] Vion was also threatened with a financial penalty if he didn't manage to meet the contractual deadline of 15 June 1660, *'à peyne de tous despens, dommages et interestz'*.[303]

**Weeks Before Louis's *Entrée***

While the event's elaborate occasional architecture was designed and built over a period of some months, scaffolding could be built with greater speed. Planning permission was granted between 19 July, just over a month before the event, and 18 August 1660, which was eight days before the *entrée* took place on 26 August. It is

300 A.N., Paris, Minutier central, CVII, 194: 15 May 1660.

301 'including the medals, baskets, plinths and other ornaments thereon'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579, f.1 [r]: 3 May 1660.

302 ibid.

303 'on pain of all expenses, damages and interest'. ibid.

worth outlining the chronology of events in some detail, as it gives a clear sense of the small-scale conflicts that shaped major public events. Significantly, these *échafaux* were remarkably well documented, as their commission and construction was plagued by disorder, contestation and miscommunication, with representatives from state and civic government vying with each other for control of what was a potentially remunerative operation.

Enterprising Parisians were able to secure planning permission to build the scaffolds, and on the day of the *entrée* hire out places to willing spectators, who wished to secure a better view of the king and queen while they were on procession. Records kept by the *Bureau de la ville* make it possible to tease out the chains of command and types of questions that informed the temporal aspects of their construction and design. In all, seventeen documents in the *Archives Nationales* in Paris mentioned the *échafaux* built before the *entrée* in 1660. Admittedly, this is a rather small sample, but as a case study, the events documented suggest the most salient features of the function of scaffolding built for celebrations, as well as the contestation that could arise from its construction.

The first reference to the *échafaux* can be dated to 19 July 1660, when the *Bureau de la Ville* gave permission to '*Messieurs les Payeurs de Rentes de lhostel de Ville*' to erect '*un arcade un Echauffeur [et] un Amphitheatre*' at the top of Rue Sainte-Margueritte, facing the convent of Saint-Antoine des Champes.[304] On the same day, the *Bureau de la Ville* granted a separate permission to Claude de Bretange, Comte de Gresle to construct 'un Echauffaut' on rue Saint-Antoine.[305] As with the triumphal architecture, designs had to be submitted to the *Maître des oeuvres de la ville*, Michel Noblet.[306]

On 24 July, the king's Privy Council issued an additional '*arrest*'. This was highly suggestive of the speed with which individual scaffolds could be erected and demolished, as the *arrêt* ordered '*plusier Echaffauts*' ['several scaffolds'] to be built

304 'the Payeurs de Rentes at the Hôtel de Ville'; 'an arcade, a scaffold and an amphitheatre'. A.N., Paris, K1000, no.253.278 [4r].
305 A.N., Paris, K1000, no.253.283 [5r-5v].
306 François Colletet, Description de Tovs les Tableaux: Peintvres, Dorves, Brodvres, Reliefs, Figures, & autres enrichissemens, qui seront exposes à tous les Arcs de Triomphe, Portes & Portiques, pour l'Entrée triomphante de leurs Majestez. Ensemble beavcovp d'autres particularitez, don't on n'a point encore parlé iusqu'à present (Paris: Iean Baptiste Loyson, 1660), p.6; Frank, 'Les artistes de l'entrée de Louis XIV en 1660', p.54.

again, as these had been demolished the previous day. The scaffolds appear to have been dismantled on 23 July on the orders of the *Trésoriers de France*, one of the main institutions responsible for handling royal finances and an agent of state government.[307] This document clearly highlighted the tensions between different parties involved in organising the event, as the demolished scaffolds had been under the jurisdiction of the *Prévôt des marchands et échevins*, agents of Paris's municipal government. And, as a consequence of the damage, the *Trésoriers* were compelled to oversee that '*les Eschauffauts seraient incessamment retablis*', while the Privy Council sought additional information regarding the identities of '*les officiers [et] ouvriers et au[tres] qui ont fait les Démolir*'.[308]

Again, on 24 July, the Privy Council met with representatives from Paris's municipal government, and the *Trésoriers de France* were held explicitly to account for their role in the demolition of the *échafaux*. It is worth quoting the relevant bit of the document at length, as it establishes the fraught nature of the conflict. The *Trésoriers* were accused of going to '*pleusiers endrots de cette Ville*' on 23 July, then:

*…firent abattre les Eschaffaux posez pour l'ordre des Supplians [the Prevôt des marchands et échevins] en quelques endroits de rües non incommodes, mais necessaries à placer les personnes qui seruent à releuer la ceremonie: & pour paruenir à leurs desseins exciterent le people à demolir lesdits Eschauffaux, ce qui est [un] mauvais exemple, tend à sedition …*'[309]

This episode was significant. Not only were the *Trésoriers* accused of inhibiting practical preparations before the entrée, but they were also held to account for setting the populace a bad example and for inciting them to riot. This was an extremely serious accusation, as protecting the public good and preserving order were two of the main objectives of the early modern state.

307 Julian Dent, 'An Aspect of the Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: The Collapse of the Financial Administration of the French Monarchy', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, vol. 20, no.2 (Aug., 1967), pp.241-56 (p.253).

308 'the scaffolds are rebuilt immediately'; 'the officers [and] workers and others who had them demolished'. A.N., Paris, K1000, no.253.292 [7v-8r].

309 'several parts of this town'; '…pulling down the scaffolds erected on the order of the suppliants [the Prevôt des marchands et échevins] in convenient parts of the streets, necessary to place spectators and served to show the ceremony: and to accomplish their designs excited the people to demolish the said scaffolds, setting a bad example, that tended towards sedition…'; A.N., Paris, K1000, no.294.

The situation became even more confused on 28 July, when the king used his *Brevet du Roy* to grant René Deschampes and Joannes Dancerains permission to build three additional '*Echaffauts*' on the processional route.[310] Notably, the two men were part of the royal household. As two of Louis's *grand valets de pied*, they were part of the *grande écurie*, or Royal Stables, under the jurisdiction of the *Grand écuyer de France*, whose role was equivalent to the English Master of the Horse.[311] For much of the period covered by this thesis, the *grand écuyer* was Louis de Lorraine, comte d'Armagnac, who held the post from 1666 until his death in 1718.[312]

The decision to favour two loyal royal servants was confirmed by a printed proclamation issued two days later on 30 July.[313] The first of the scaffolds was to be built on rue de Charonne, where it met rue Faubourg Saint-Antoine; another was to be planned on rue Sainte-Margueritte and a third was to be erected at the corner made by the intersection of rue Traversires and rue Faubourg Saint-Antoine. Significantly, further stipulation was made to ensure that the *échafaut* on rue Sainte-Margueritte was built in the same place as '*…ceux qui ont été a battus de dornnance de Tresoriers de France*'.[314]

At this stage in the preparations, the *Trésoriers de France* still had a defined role in the preparations made before the *entrée*, by acting as middlemen in the applications made for planning permission. Dancerains and Deschampes had approached the *Trésoriers* in the first instance ('*Sous la Requeste à Nous presentée par René Deschampes and Ionnes Dancerains…*') and it was on the basis of their counsel that Louis's initially granted his permission, as it had been '*…en consequence de Renuoy par elle à nous fait, & nostre Aduis de 27 dudit mois*'.[315]

310 A.N., Paris, K1000, no.253.316 [8r].

311 Guyot, *Traité des Droits, Fonctions, Franchises, Exemptions, Prérogatives et Privilèges Annexés en France à chaque Dignité, à chaque Office & à chaque État, soit Civil, soit Militaire, soit Ecclésiastique*, vol.1 (Paris: Visse, 1786), pp. 618, 624.

312 Marcel Marion, Dictionnaire des Institutions de la France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (Paris, 1923); *Jonathan Spangler, The Society of Princes: the Lorraine-Guise and the Conservation of Power and Wealth in Seventeenth-Century France* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

313 A.N., Paris, K1000, no.299.

314 '…those destroyed on the orders of the *Trésoriers de France*'. A.N., Paris, K1000, no.253.316 [8r].

315 '…as a consequence of the dispatch they made to us, & our opinion of 27 of this month'. A.N., Paris, K1000, no.299.a

However, an *Ordonnance du Roy* issued just days later on 2 August categorically took the *Trésoriers* out of the equation, granting the *Prévôt des marchands et échevins* sole jurisdiction over the construction of '*les Eschaffaut et autres choses pour lentrée de leurs Majestes*'.[316] Furthermore, this revoked all previous statements on the matter, with the comprehensiveness of the state's new policy underlined by a reference to Dancerain and Deschampes, specifying that even they would not receive any special treatment, in spite of their loyal service to the Crown.[317]

This conflict put the issue of planning permission at the centre of social and economic networks. Here, as elsewhere, scaffolding for festival was an explicitly commercial venture, which explained the high level of contestation that attended its construction. Most notably, Louis's own intervention highlighted the desirability of the contract to build *échafaux*, as it was framed as a reward to two of his valets de pied, '*en consideration de leurs bons & agreables Seruices*'.[318] This printed proclamation even mentioned the financial benefits of the enterprise, with Dancerains and Dechampes permitted '*ce loüer par eux les places de dessus ledits Eschaffaux à telles personnes ques bon leur semblera*', which made explicit the social ideals that were invested in the viewing platforms.[319]

Events in Paris in 1660 also showed that scaffolding could be assembled and dismantled at relatively short notice. Several *échafaux* were built at strategic points in the city in the course of a single day, 23 July, while other existing scaffolds were pulled down.[320] Moreover, in one of the royal proclamations granting permission to Deschamps and Dancerains to build three '*échafaud*' along the processional route highlighted the extent to which scaffolds were considered temporary structures. One La Voire was put in charge of demolishing the scaffolds, cleaning up and making sure the streets affected

316 '…the scaffolds and other things made for the royal entry of their majesties'. A.N., Paris, K1000, no.253.339 [10r-10v].

317 A.N., Paris, K1000, no.253.339 [10r-10v].

318 'in recognition of their good & pleasing service'. A.N., Paris, K1000, no.299.

319 'to lease space on the said scaffolds to such persons as seemed respectable to them'. ibid.

320 A.N., Paris, K1000, no.253.292 [7v-8r]; A.N., Paris, K1000, no.310.

were properly repaved promptly (*'…à la charge de démolir iceux Eschaffaux après l'Entrée faite, de render place nette, & restablir la paué d'icelle bien & deuëment'*).[321]

The conflict over scaffolding in Paris in 1660 revealed the problems inherent in organising occasions that required contributions from groups with different vested interests. As we have seen, building *échafaux* was a commercially attractive prospect, which goes some way towards explaining the contestations that attended its construction prior to the *entrée*. However, this episode also raises more general questions about effective management of festival preparations, as it highlighted the extent to which a project like this was governed by a sense of routine and negotiation. On this occasion, the right to build scaffolds, and thereby influence their commercial tender, was explicitly tied to an established concept of exchange. As the *Prévôt des marchands et échevins* had coordinated and paid for the manufacture of other apparatus associated with the *entrée*, they were entitled to direct the construction of these potentially profitable viewing stands. Within this basic framework, the actions of the *Trésoriers de France* could be viewed as being deliberately provocative and transgressive, as if they had contravened the usual way of doing things.

**Conclusion:**

Temporary structures were used to transform the early modern city before major celebrations. Triumphal architecture, such as that built in Paris for Louis's *entrée* in August 1660, had an explicitly decorative function, and was used to convey the most salient points of an event's ideological agenda. These structures, created using canvas and wood, and decorated to mimic more costly and durable materials, were partly constructed off site, before being erected throughout the city. Like other entities discussed in this dissertation, their appearance announced that a major celebration was about to happen. Scaffolds, or *échafaux*, had a more utilitarian function, being designed to support the weight of spectators and participants in events, but even they were invested with ideals, by instituting – then advertising to other audiences – class differentiation.

321 A.N., Paris, K1000, no.299. Rodolphe El-Khoury provides an interesting account of the function and cultural associations of paving stones in late-eighteenth-century France. See: R. El-Khoury, 'Paving the City in Late-Eighteenth-Century France', pp.6-15.

In 1660, Paris's municipal elites supervised the construction of both types of temporary structure. The *marché* concerning the design of the *entrée's* triumphal architecture clearly illustrated the *Bureau de la Ville*'s anxieties regarding the correct execution of its design. Arguably, the triumphal arches were responsible for conveying the occasion's most important cultural and political ideals, making it imperative that they were done properly. Likewise, as the conflict between the *Prévôt des marchands et échevins* and the *Trésoriers de France* demonstrated, even the construction of relatively modest structures like *échafaux* was also closely monitored. Yet, crucially, production and design of the structures was partially devolved. The *Bureau de la Ville* employed a range of personnel to realise individual triumphal arches, while the *échafaux* appear to have been the responsibility of private individuals who had applied for planning permission. In both instances, the involvement of sizeable teams of people highlighted the collaborative and participatory nature of early modern festival, as well as the challenges inherent in its successful management.

**Section I**
**Chapter 3**

## Fireworks

### Introduction

In the preface to his *Traité des feux d'artifice pour la spectacle*, Amédée-François Frézier meditated on the three types of personnel that were necessary to devise a successful firework display:

> … il y a trois choses à considére: l'une qui a pour objet la composition du sujet du theatre, est du ressort des gens du Lettre: la seconde qui concerne sa construction, est l'affaire des Dessinateurs & des bons Artistes: la troisième, qui concerne la disposition de Feux, est celle d'un bon Artificier. Aussi un Feu d'Artifice bien conçu & bien execute ne peut être d'ouvrage d'un seul homme.[322]

For Frézier, firework displays were a hybrid form requiring equal input from 'men of letters' ('*gens de Lettre*'), 'designers' ('*Dessinateurs*') and the 'pyrotechnician' ('*Artificier*'). Although it is not possible to identify each type of personnel for most early modern firework displays, this account successfully highlights the major difference between modern and early modern versions of the event, as his reference to '*gens de Lettre*' and '*Dessinateurs*' suggests that major firework displays had a well-defined theatrical aspect.

This was certainly true of the firework display that concluded Louis's *entrée* celebrations on Sunday 29 August 1660. The event, staged on the River Seine in front of the Louvre, centred on a huge piece of scenic apparatus – a ship measuring 72 feet in length, which was notable for being equipped with all the paraphernalia one would expect of a seaworthy vessel, '*ses mats, de ses voiles, & des ses cordages*'.[323] **(Fig.22.)** The colossal size of the ship, the precision of its design and intricacy of its decoration were all evidence of the elaborate props and scenery that were the hallmarks of early modern

322 '…there are three things to consider: first, choice of narrative is the prevail of the Men of Letters: second, construction [of the display apparatus] is the responsibility of the designers and [good] artists: third, deployment of the pyrotechnics is that of the good artificier. Also, a well-conceived and well-executed firework display cannot be the work of a single man.' Amédée-François Frézier, *Traité des feux d'artifice pour la spectacle* (Paris, 1747; first published 1715), p.ix.

323 'masts, sails and rigging'. *Tronçon 1662*, 'Suites de l'Entrée de leurs Majestez. Feux d'artifice', p.4.

firework displays. Moreover, it was indicative of the multilayered design brief that this kind of scenic device had to fulfil, with the use of a ship informed by the need to be practical and spectacular, while conveying narrative and symbolic agendas that were suitable for the celebration of a dynastic wedding.

This section investigates the production of firework displays. Like the other processes we have considered, preparing a firework display was a matter of good project management, and prompts similar questions to those we have dealt with elsewhere in this thesis. Who was in charge? What kinds of personnel were involved? Who did what? What needed to be done, where and when? And yet, there is an important technical component to the discussion. As fireworks were a form of controlled explosive, their use on days of occasion required input from dedicated pyrotechnic personnel, many of whom were elite military professionals.

Quite simply, then as now, fireworks were dangerous things. Their use on days of occasion raised the stakes, and amplified the concerns about order and control that informed the organisation and design of all aspects of festival. As the example of Sir Martin Beckman in London has already shown, the specialist nature of pyrotechnical knowledge complicated the question of who was responsible for designing a display. The props built for firework displays had a great deal in common with occasional architecture, as they were made in wood and then painted, or, in some instances, covered with metal foil. By contrast, the skills needed to make pyrotechnical devices were more technically specific, and demanded the input of personnel with experience in handling their potentially devastating effects.

**Burning Boats: Designing Fireworks for Louis's *Entrée***

A close reading of the scenic devices built for the firework display to conclude Louis's *entrée* in 1660 reveals the complexity of the occasion's narrative and iconographical design. Dwelling, for the moment, on this aspect of the design of firework displays helps establish the crucial role played by an effective project manager. In effect, a large wooden structure, imbued with huge political meaning by the event's organisers, was being used as a platform from which to detonate large quantities of explosives. The

stakes were very high indeed. It is unfortunate, but I have been unable to locate archival materials detailing personnel or the cost of the different components of the display.[324] As such, the second part of the chapter will use evidence of state-organised firework displays in London, which are extremely well documented and just as elaborately staged.

The ship that formed the display's centrepiece conveyed a focused political message, while its location revealed some of the more practical considerations that informed the display's design. The fireworks had been staged on the River Seine, lighting up the night sky, and providing a suitably magnificent conclusion to the festivities for Louis and Maria-Teresa's *entrée*. By being performed '*deuant le Louvre*' ['in front of the Louvre'], the display had effected a kind of celebratory continuity, as this had been the endpoint of the king and queen's procession on Thursday 26 August. No money had been spared, with the '*Ingenieur*', or *artificier*, Sieur Liegeois given carte blanche to make his preparations '*sans aucune restriction de la dépence*'.[325]

As Frézier's *Traité* suggested, the design ideas that were the basis of a firework display were intimately linked to narrative. The choice of story would ideally reflect '*la circonstance qui donne occasion au feu d'Artifice qu'on se proposer de faire*'.[326] This emphasis on narrative-led design was particularly typical of French events. Although Classical and contemporary narratives had informed the design of firework displays throughout Europe since the early sixteenth century, this impulse reached its apogee in late seventeenth-century France, most notably in the 'fireworks dramas' that were performed at Versailles in 1664, 1668 and 1674.[327]

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324 Eric Monin has located archival details for late eighteenth-century firework displays. These documents are part of one the series of documents consulted for this thesis, the K series of documents in the Archives Nationales, Paris, which detail the prepations made by the Bureau de la Ville for 'fêtes et cérémonials'. See: Monin, 'The Construction of Fantasy', pp.1475-87; Monin, 'The Speculative Challenges of Festival Architecture', pp.155-80.

325 '…without being constrained by consideration of expense'. *Tronçon 1662*, 'Feux D'Artifice', p4.

326 '…the circumstance which created the occasion for the firework display in question'.Frézier, Traité des feux d'artifices, p.393.

327 See: Suzanne Boorsch, *Fireworks! Four Centuries of Pyrotechnics in Prints and Drawings* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000); pp.6, 21-23; Kevin Salatino, *Incendiary Art: The Representation of Fireworks in Early Modern Europe* (California: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1997), pp.11-12.

Celebrations at Versailles in 1664 exemplified the tradition, illustrating the extent to which the French fireworks drama married pyrotechnic effects and narrative with spectacular consequences. The event, better known as *Les plaisirs de l'isle enchantée*, the title of André Félibien's printed account, was based on an episode from Aristo's *Orlando Furioso* and performed over three days. **(Figs.20, 23)** Notably, the 25-year-old Louis XIV participated in the performance, playing the part of the Ariosto's hero, Ruggiero, with his courtiers playing his knights-in-arms. Held captive by the poem's villainess, the evil sorceress Alcina, the knights were only released on the third and final day of festivities, by means of a magic ring placed on the finger of Louis/Ruggiero. Simultaneously, the display's main scenic device, the Palace of Alcina, was demolished by the fireworks detonated within its walls. Once the smoke had cleared on the scene's charred remains, spectators could not have doubted the occasion's political agenda, with the destruction of the fictional Palace of Alcina restoring to sight the château of Versailles and suggesting the material basis of Louis's power in the 'real world'.[328]

In 1660, the display's aquatic setting influenced the choice of story, with the *artificier* Liegeois, and not seemingly Frézier's man of letters, selecting the Greek myth of Jason and the Argonauts, a story with a maritime theme, as the basis of the event's design. The suitability of Jason and the Argonauts as a theme for the firework display was reiterated in Tronçon's official chronicle of the event, where the meaningfulness of the ship's design was expressly related to the narrative:

*Pour bien prendre le sens de ces Vers, il est necessaire de sçauvoir que le Vaisseau Argo dont les Anciens ont fait vne des constellations celestes, croyans qu'au retour de ses belles expeditions, il eût esté transporté dans les Cieux; estoit conduit par vn excellent Pilote nommé Typhis, aux soins duquel les Argonautes & Iason mesme qui estoit leur chef, reconnoissoit auoir des obligations particulieres*.[329]

328 André Félibien, *Les plaisirs de l'isle enchantée. Course de bague; collation ornée de machines; comedie, meslée de danse et de musique; ballet du palais d'Alcine; feu d'artifice: et autre festes galantes et magnifiques, faites par le roy à Versailles, le vii may M.DC.LXIV. et continues plusieurs autres jours* (Paris: Mabre-Cramoisy, 1674); Kevin Salatino, *Incendiary Art*, pp.11-12; Elaine Tierney, 'Fireworks', *Baroque: Style in the Age of Magnificence*, pp.172-73 (p.173).

329 'To fully understand the meaning of these verses, it is necessary to know that the Ancients made the ship Argo one of the heavenly constellations, believing that on the return from its wonderful adventures, it was transported in the skies, being driven by an excellent pilot by the name of Typhis, to whose care the Argonauts and even their captain, Jason, recognised they were especially indebted.' *Tronçon 1662*, 'Feux D'Artifice', p.6.

Choosing a ship as the occasion's most eye-catching decorative motive also showed who funded the firework display. A similar device appeared on Paris's seal and coat of arms, representing the powerful corporate body of the *Marchands de l'eau*.[330] In this instance, however, the civic device was combined with royal iconography to highlight the marriage's most important function, preservation of the French Crown and nation through the birth of a healthy male heir. The clearest heraldic hallmark of royal power was positioned at the rear of the ship, near the poop deck, where a large cartouche enclosed the French royal coat of arms, which was held aloft by two mermen shown in relief.

More telling was an amendment to Paris's coat of arms, which saw the mainmast embellished with an open coronet of *fleur-de-lis*, similar to that worn by the French monarch's sons and grandsons, in place of the crow's nest. The theme of dynastic generation was reiterated in the form of the figurehead: a Siren carrying a dolphin wearing the open crown, again of *fleur-de-lis*, that was traditionally worn by the king's eldest son. One also notes that the inclusion of a dolphin was a visually play on words, as the French word '*dauphin*' – 'dolphin' – was the title given to the eldest male heir in France.[331] Tronçon described the latter as decorated '*en ronde-basse*', an expensive enamelling technique, which gives an indication of the actual quality of the occasion's scenic apparatus, or of the rhetoric of extravagant expense that informed its perception by contemporary commentators.[332]

The nuptial theme was present, too, in other aspects of the ship's design and decoration. At the top of the mainmast, a sun enclosed a joint cipher combining the initials of Louis and Maria-Teresa. More unusually, a celestial globe replaced the ship's lantern at the edge of the poop deck. Reported to measure 20 feet around its circumference, the globe was held aloft by two figures, *'l'vne vestuë de blanc & de blue, l'autre de rouge & de*

330 Jones, *Paris*, p.62.

331 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1st Edition (1694), *Dictionnaires d'autrefois* (Chicago: University of Chicago, [n.d.]), http://artflx.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdico1look.pl?strippedhw=dauphin [accessed 23 September 2010].

332 Marit Guinness Aschan and Rika Smith McNally, 'Enamel' Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [2009]), http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T026009, [accessed 20 September 2011].In my work on firework displays in London and Paris, I have yet to come across another reference to the use of enamel – 'en ronde basse' or otherwise – to decorate the scenic apparatus made for these displays. More typically, the props and scenery were painted or covered in metal foil.

*jaunce'*, representing France and Spain respectively, and reiterating the marriage's dynastic returns.[333] In combination, the deployment of these symbolic devices suggested that the marriage between Louis and Maria-Teresa, and more specifically the birth of a healthy male heir, provided the means to negotiate the potentially troubled waters of an unknowable future.

The ship, then, was a scenic device that had been invested with huge ritual and political meaning. It was of vital importance, therefore, that the deployment of the fireworks didn't destroy the ship and, as a consequence, impair the prestige of the occasion and the ideals it celebrated. On a practical level, its choice as the event's principal design feature attested to Liegeois's professional expertise as a pyrotechnician, as locating the display on the River Seine contained the potentially devastating effect of the fireworks. It is no coincidence that large-scale urban firework displays were situated in the middle of rivers. In Paris, the Seine was the site of major displays, while the lakes and canals at Versailles were transformed by means of fireworks and illuminations during the fêtes held there in the 1660s and 1670s.[334] In London, some of the most spectacular firework displays were held on the Thames in front of Whitehall, with 6 major displays located on the river between 1660 and 1697. These included major spectacles that marked two coronations, those of Charles II in 1661 and James II in 1685, and celebrated the birth of the latter's son and heir in June 1688.[335]

Moreover, on an aesthetic level, the light effects produced by fireworks appeared to best advantage on water, much like 'the provision of mirrors and facets' that increased the brilliancy of domestic lighting, 'adding sparkle to a dimly lit room'.[336] Contemporary accounts of firework displays and technical manuals emphasised the suitability of water as a site for fireworks. Tronçon's account of the display in 1660 praised the Seine as a location, remarking that fireworks *'paroist toûjours mieux sur les eaux que sur sur la terre'*.[337]

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333 '…one dressed in white and blue, the other in red and yellow'. *Troncon 1662*, 'Feux D'Artifice', p.5.

334 Boorsch, Fireworks!, pp.6, 7, 21-23, 30, 32, 36-37; Fenton, Edward, 'Fireworks', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 13 (1954), pp. 50-59 (p.52); Monin, 'The Construction of Fantasy', pp.1478-80; Salatino, Incendiary Art, pp.11-12, 21-27.

335 Tierney, 'Playing with Fire', pp.60-1, 126.

336 William T. O'Dea, *The Social History of Lighting* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), p.43.

337 '…always appear better on water than land'. *Tronçon 1662*, 'Feux D'Artifice', p.4.

This was only enhanced by the pyrotechnician's ability to produce a range of coloured light effects, adjusting the basic gunpowder mix that all fireworks contained. The addition of extra ingredients created a symphony of shades and tones that must have looked incredible when reflected by a large body of water like the River Seine. Amber, frankincense, mastic and gum reacted with oils to produce the varnishes that gave early modern fireworks a hint of colour.[338] In a 'recipe' for yellow, the Polish artillery technician Kasimier Simienowicz used amber to produce a pale hue that 'sometimes inclines towards the Citronish'.[339] Waxy gums and resins burnt with 'reddish or golden coloured flames'.[340] Verdigris, a bluish-green salt, was used to make green.[341] Iron filings and 'camphire' (camphor) and orpiment produced white or 'brilliant fire'.[342] Antimony, a black or dark grey metallic substance, was used to produce a whitish shade, poetically termed 'Sad Yellow' by Simienowicz.[343] Notably, the technology to produce blue fireworks was not discovered until the nineteenth century.[344]

Contemporary technical manuals also provided copious directions for making fireworks that functioned on water. These devices were essentially the same as the fireworks used on land, but with a few minor adjustments to case design and explosive composition. Aquatic rockets were coated in pitch to make them waterproof.[345] The rockets were then lit before being thrown in the water.[346] Other types of device, termed shell-type or globe fireworks, were designed to sink by being coated with hot lead 'as may be sufficient to make it of equal Weight, or something heavier than a Bulk of Water of the

338 In the limited secondary literature on the subject, there is some debate over the colour effects that were possible at this date, with some scholars arguing for a four-colour pyrotechnic spectrum, while others have claimed that only red and yellow were possible. See: Buchanan, 'Making Fireworks', pp.157-60; Phyllis Dearborn Massar, 'Stefano della Bella's Illustrations for a Fireworks Treatise', *Master Drawings*, 7 (1969), pp. 293-303 (p.295); A. St. Hill Brock, *Pyrotechnics: The History and Art of Firework Making* (London: Daniel O'Connor, 1922), p.140.

339 *Simienowicz 1729*, p.168.

340 ibid.

341 Brock, *Pyrotechnics*, p.155.

342 John Babington, *Pyrotechnia* (London: Thomas Harper for Ralph Mab, 1632), pp.11. 41, 42, 56, 57; John Bate, *The Mysteries of Nature and Art. / In foure severall parts. / The first of Water works. / The second of Fire works. / The third of Drawing, Washing, Limming, Painting and Engraving. / The fourth of sundry Experiments. / The second Edition; / with many additions unto every part* (London: Ralph Mab, 1635), pp.61-5, 71; *Simienowicz 1729*, pp.121, 168.

343 *Simienowicz 1729*, p.168.

344 Buchanan, 'Making Fireworks', p.159.

345 Bate, *The Mysteries of Nature and Art*, p.110.

346 *Simienowicz 1729*, p.151.

same Magnitude with itself'.[347] It would seem, therefore, that this type of firework was capable of detonating once submerged in water. Likewise, the explosive composition, as contained by the firework's case, was loaded with oils, gums and resins that were able to burn in water.[348]

In 1660, fireworks were the culmination of four days of festivities for Louis's *entrée*, and constituted a complex interaction between symbolism and narrative, technology and terrain. The event had a well-defined theatrical aspect, which was typical of the most elaborate seventeenth and early eighteenth-century firework displays, and showcased the professional expertise of its key organiser, Sieur Liegeios, as the display was staged on the River Seine, a location that acted as a safety measure and accentuated the light effects produced by the fireworks. And, as in other parts of the *entrée*, the display apparatus was designed to contribute to the event's symbolic narrative, in this instance reasserting the glorious future assured by Louis's marriage to Maria-Teresa.

**Technology and Design: Making Fireworks**

The fireworks for Louis's *entrée* illustrated the main characteristics of the most elaborate seventeenth and eighteenth-century displays, most notably the presence of large-format props and scenery that were invested with complex symbolic meanings. The choice of location, the River Seine, also suggested the event's spatial and experiential dimensions, and the considerable skill of its main organiser, Sieur Liegeois. Part safety measure, this location also displayed a keen understanding of the conditions that best showed the coloured light effects produced by the fireworks.

As the example of Sir Martin Beckman has already shown, a successful firework display needed a project manager with excellent knowledge of pyrotechnology, who could deploy fireworks, a form of controlled explosives, without compromising the display's scenic apparatus and the ideals this promoted. This section does not intend to provide an exhaustive account of how fireworks were made, but it is a more complete discussion of how firework displays constituted a form of designed experience than has

347 *Simienowicz 1729*, p.174.

348 Babington, *Pyrotechnia*, pp.11, 12, 22-3, 55, 56-7; Bate, *Mysteries of Nature and Art*, pp.61, 63, 64, 65; *Simienowicz 1729*, p.168.

appeared in the existing scholarship.[349] Instead, it will consider the most salient aspects of their production, most notably the involvement of military personnel and the extent to which gunpowder, and by extension, fireworks, were treated as 'controlled substances' by municipal and state government. It is necessary, however, to outline the basics of pyrotechnology in order to fully impress the skill needed to produce effective fireworks. For, although all fireworks were designed to be explosive and destructive, pyrotechnicians were able to adapt the case design and explosive composition to produce a range of sound and light effects.[350] In this respect, firework displays constituted a form of experiential design, with sound, light, colour and movement prompting an emotional response from spectators.

All fireworks were composed of a case that held an explosive composition, which was equipped with a method of ignition. Rockets were always composed of a tubular body, which was usually made out of strong paper. Globe or shell-type fireworks were, to some extent, spherical, but not, as Simienowicz noted, 'perfectly Round Bodies'. Rather:

> …we understand by it, several Bodies of various Kinds of Figure, all distinct and different from one another…there are those which are perfectly Round…There are Balls made in the Fashion of an Egg; others of a Spheroid, some in the form of a Citron or Pear, or a Cylinder, and in several other shapes which workmen might give them.[351]

The deployment of fireworks was akin to choreography, as the devices were designed to produce different kinds of movement. Rockets produced a smooth arch, especially when launched into the air, with their trajectory shadowed by a 'tail' of explosive matter. By contrast, shell-class fireworks shot up from a 'standing start', showing 'a small stream of fire' during their ascent, before exploding 'at the moment of its highest elevation' and throwing out a garniture of stars with 'a pleasant surprise'.[352]

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349 For a comprehensive account of how fireworks were made during the period, please see: Buchnanan, 'Making Fireworks', 145-89; Elaine Tierney, 'Playing With Fire: Fireworks and Public Festival, 1660-1697' (Unpublished RCA/V&A M.A. thesis, 2006), pp.17-59; Simon Werret, *Fireworks: Pyrotechnic Arts and Sciences in European History.*

350 Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'Firework Dramas and Illuminations – Precursors of Cinema?', *German Life and Letters*, 48:3 (1995), pp.338-52 (p.338).

351 *Simienowicz 1729*, p.172.

352 Frézier, *Traité des Feux d'Artifice*, p.105.

Surprise also functioned as the explicit design concept for firework displays, with an event held at Versailles in 1668 highlighting the extent to which firework displays could constitute exercises in experiential design. On this occasion, preparations for the display were deliberately kept secret. Félibien, chronicler of court festivities, published an account of proceedings in 1679, which conveys some of the occasion's inherent strangeness. In this instance, secrecy had a clear agenda: by concealing the necessary preparations, Louis XIV deliberately ambushed his court with huge quantities of explosives. In Félibien's description, the courtiers were led into a horseshoe-shaped arena where the fireworks were detonated all at once, causing universal distress amongst those present. In spite of his best efforts, this part of Félibien's narrative was marked by a palpable undercurrent of threat, which reached its climax in the spectacle of the terrified courtiers throwing themselves into the shrubbery and onto the ground, in attitudes more reminiscent of the battlefield. It's worth quoting the relevant section at length:

*Bien que tout le monde scuest que l'on préparoit des Feux d'artifices néanmoins en quelque lieu qu'on allast Durant le jour, l'on n'y voyoit nulle disposition, de sorte que dans le temps que chacun estoit en peine du lieu où ils devoient paroistre, l'on s'en trouva tout d'un coup environné: Car non seulement ils partoient des ses basins de fontaines, mais encore des grandes allées qui environnent le parterre; & en voyant sortir de terre mille flames qui s'elevoient des tous costez, l'on ne sçavoit s'il y avoit des Canaux qui fornissent cette nuit-là autant de feux, comme pedant le jour on avoit veû de jets-d'eau qui refraischissoient ce beau parterre. Cette surprise causa un agreeable desordre parmi tout le monde, qui ne sçachant où se retirer, se cachoit dans l'épaisseur des bocages & se jettoit contre terre.*[353]

The basic explosive composition could also be manipulated to enhance the ambivalent effects produced by fireworks. On the whole, this meant making fireworks noisier by mimicking the sound of artillery and shot. Simienowicz outlined a preparation of aqua fortis (nitric acid), sal armoniac (ammonium chloride), oil of tartar and gold, which made 'as much Noise as a Musquet', and produced 'a noise [that] assaults the Ear with so much Violence, that the extreme Acuteness deafens those who are pretty near to

353 'Although everyone [the court] knew that preparations were being made for the fireworks, wherever one went during the day the preparations weren't visible, so that as everyone was looking for the place where the fireworks were to appear, they suddenly found themselves surrounded by the fireworks, which appeared not only in the bowls of the fountains, but also in the wide avenues around the parterre; and on all sides thousands of flames emerged from the ground, so one wondered if the canals provided as many fires that night as they issued jets of water during the day to refresh the beautiful parterre. This surprise caused a pleasurable disorder amongst the court, who not knowing where to withdraw, hid in the shrubbery and threw themselves against the ground.' André Félibien, *Relation de la feste de Versailles. Du 18 juillet mil six cens soixante-huit* (Paris, 1679), p.41.

it'.[354] More typically, the case design was altered to ensure noisier fireworks. John White, an early seventeenth-century English commentator, achieved a 'louder report' by choosing thicker paper for his rocket cases, with the necessary force of the explosion creating a bigger bang.[355] Similarly, John Bate advised his reader to line a rocket case with 'a bottom of leather, or sixe or eight double of paper' pierced in 'three or four places', before filling the case with 'whole gunpowder'.[356]

Both the technical literature and Félibien's description reflected the military origins of the pyrotechnical devices, with the fireworks even drawing attention to this by ambushing spectators, as at Versailles, or producing loud noises that were an approximation of gunfire. However, although the sense of latent threat was palpable in both instances, the destructive capacity of the fireworks was abstracted by means of the pyrotechnician's combination of skill, organisation and artistry. While fireworks on the battlefield were designed to explode and cause maximum damage, the devices deployed during displays were detonated to produce choreographed movement and coloured light and sound effects. Moreover, as we will discuss in greater detail below, the destructive capacity of the fireworks was further abstracted by the use of elaborate scenic devices, which situated the explosives in a theatrical context, neutralising, but not completely obscuring, their military origins.

## Controlled Explosions: Gunpowder and the Office of Ordnance in England, 1660-1715

Firework displays could only abstract fireworks to an extent. After all, these were devices that were designed to produce real explosions and which were mainly composed of gunpowder, a substance that generated great anxiety in the early modern period. Egbert van der Poel's 'View of Delft after the Explosion of 1654' is a sobering reminder of the destructive potential of gunpowder. **(Fig.24.)** On 12 October 1654, the city's magazine, where an estimated 90,000 pounds of gunpowder were stored, exploded with terrible consequences. Van der Poel showed a city that had been changed

354 *Simienowicz 1729*, pp.118-19.

355 John White, *A Rich Cabinet with Variety of Inventions in several Arts and Siences [sic.]* (London: Will Gilbertson, 1658), p.87.

356 Bate, *Mysteries of Nature and Art*, p.110.

forever, with buildings levelled to the ground and hundreds killed, including Rembrandt's most talented student, Carel Fabritius.[357] Although London did not experience a tragedy on the scale of that experienced by Delft, gunpowder in England was handled with great care. In 1684, the Office of Ordnance invested in the installation of a special cooling device in the magazine of the Tower of London:

> To Thomas Walford the sum[m]e of five pounds for his constant attendance upon the fforces of the waterworks belonging to his Ma[jest]ies Magazine in the Tower of Lond[o]n for supplying ye cistorns w[i]th water for the storehouses of Gunpowd[e]r to prevent danger.[358]

The anxieties surrounding the technology were also reflected in legislation. From its earliest days, the gunpowder industry in England had been a government monopoly. In 1589, England had adopted the French system of granting letters patent to independent powder plants and mills.[359] The finished product was then 'proofed', or tested, stored and administered by the Office of Ordnance.[360] Government control of the industry reflected gunpowder's position as a key strategic resource, as its provision had real importance for the defence of the nation. Demand for good quality gunpowder

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357 'A View of Delft After the Explosion of 1654', National Gallery London [Website] (London: The National Gallery, [n.d.], http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/egbert-van-der-poel-a-view-of-delft-after-the-explosion-of-1654 [accessed 26 August 2011].

358 N.R.A., London, W/O 47-29, Sept. 1684 [n.p.].

359 J. U. Nef, *Industry and Government in France and England 1540-1640* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp.59-68, 88-98.

360 R.W. Stewart, *The English Ordnance Office: A Case Study in Bureaucracy* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society, 1996), p.23. Saltpetre was kept at stores in Woolwich, while most of the government's supplies of gunpowder were divided between Greenwich and Upnor Castle on the River Medway in Kent. See: H.C. Tomlinson, *Guns and Government: The Ordnance Office under the later Stuarts* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1979), p.107. The secondary literature on gunpowder in the early modern period is extensive, detailing its production, legislation and cultural meanings. For further discussion of the subject, please consult: Brenda Buchanan, *Gunpowder: The History of an International Technology* (Bath: Bath Spa University Press, 1996); Brenda Buchanan, 'Gunpowder: A Capricious and Unmerciful Thing', *History of Technology*, 26 (2005), pp.141-60; Brenda Buchanan (ed.), *Gunpowder, Explosives and the State: A Technological History* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Wayne D. Cocroft, *Dangerous Energy: The Archaeology of Gunpowder and Military Explosives Manufacture* (London: English Heritage, 2000); David Cressy, 'Saltpetre, State Security and Vexation and Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 212:1 (2011), pp.73-111; A.G. Crocker et al, *Gunpowder Mills: Documents of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Surrey Record Society: 36, (Woking: Surrey Record Society, 2000); Ronald D. Crozier, *Guns, Gunpowder and Saltpetre: a short history* (Faversham: Faversham Society, 1998); Kelly DeVries, 'Gunpowder Weaponry and the Rise of the Early Modern State', *War in History*, 5 (1998), pp.127-45; Bert S. Hall, *Weapons and Warfare in Renaissance Europe: Gunpowder, Technology and Tactics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Seymour H. Mauskopf, 'The Crisis of English Gunpowder in the Eighteenth Century', *Materials and Expertise in Early Modern Britain: Between Market and Laboratory*, ed. by Ursula Klein and E. C. Sprang (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), pp.288-320; William H. McNeil, *The Age of Gunpowder Empires* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1989); Pamela H. Smith, and Benjamin Schmidt (eds.), *Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe. Practices, Objects, and Texts, 1400-1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

increased during the second half of the seventeenth century after the country became embroiled in a series of naval wars with the Dutch (the so-called Anglo-Dutch Wars in 1652-4, 1665-7 and 1672-4). In the midst of the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-7), the Ordnance's principal clerical officers, Jonas Moore, Edward Sherburne and Richard March petitioned Charles II. Their letter evidences gunpowder's vital importance during periods of conflict, as well as the Ordnance's constant battle to keep stocks at an acceptable level:

May it please your Highnesse & your Grace

We have sent down from here [the Tower of London] all the Munition and store of war of the fleet in such proportions as wee hope nothing will be wanting in any particular.

It only rests that wee send downe 1000 Barrills of powder to attend the Motion of the Fleet, but our store being at p[res]ent extraordinarily exhausted wee humbly desire to be alcertayne whether your Highnesse and Grace doe hold that Resolution still or that wee shall cause the same to bee loaded on some fitting Vessell and Transported to Harwich or such other port as you shall please to appoint there to attend your faster order.[361]

With monopolists accused of producing inferior stock, the Office of Ordnance rejected the system of issuing letters patents, which protected the interests of a small number of producers. Instead, manufacture was opened up to commercial tender, with a larger number of producers commissioned to make 'such quantities of gunpowder and saltpetre' as were 'judged necessary'.[362]

Most of the new powder mills were located in the south east of the country, within easy access of their most important customers, the Naval Board and Office of Ordnance in London. The most productive manufacturers were to the south of the capital. According to Jonas Moore's survey of 1677, the country's biggest plant at Chilworth near Guilford was capable of producing 1000 barrels of gunpowder a month.[363] The powder works at Waltham Abbey to the north of London acquired pre-eminence in the eighteenth century by becoming the government's official gunpowder factory in 1787.[364] However,

361 N.R.A., W/O 47-8, March 1665 [n.p.].

362 Tomlinson, *Guns and Government*, p.112.

363 ibid, p.115.

364 *The Royal Gunpowder Factory, Waltham Abbey, Essex* (London: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 1997), p.2.

even with these changes, the industry still remained heavily centralised, reflecting government anxieties regarding the provision and protection of gunpowder stocks.

**Who made fireworks in London?**

In London, the issue of who made fireworks was intimately linked to who had access to gunpowder, as the Office of Ordnance, a government body responsible for supplying the army and navy with armaments, munitions and other materiel (including gunpowder), also coordinated firework displays. Effectively, this meant that the same people devised explosives for the battlefield and made fireworks for celebration, with, in theory at least, the same team producing the fireworks used to win, and then mark a major military victory. That the Office of Ordnance took the lead in organizing firework displays is worth considering at some length, as it highlights some the contradictions inherent in this kind of spectacle. These have already been considered in relation to the topic of gunpowder, but they can also be used to understand the mixed function of early modern firework displays. In addition to being a celebratory medium, it could also be argued that these events were intended as demonstrations of the nation's artillery strength.

Evidence of the similarities between display and military fireworks gets to the crux of the matter, revealing the conceptual instability of the medium and offering some explanation for the ambivalence and uncertainty that fireworks could provoke. The broad-based expertise of personnel at the English Office of Ordnance in the late seventeenth century was by no means the exception. Contemporary technical manuals demonstrated the extent to which commentators on fireworks for display also had wider professional experience working with explosives. These texts described the practical production of fireworks by detailing explosive compositions, providing directions for the manufacture of pyrotechnical devices and, in some instances, advising the reader on the design of props and scenery for firework displays.

The earliest writer considered here, Vannoccio Biringuccio, spent most of his working life in charge of an iron ore mine outside the Italian city of Sienna. His *Pyrotechnia* (1540) has been described as the, 'most scientific treatise about fire of the sixteenth century', and displayed a keen interest in the commercial exploitation of explosives by

military and civil engineers.[365] By comparison, the sections that dealt with fireworks for display were slight.[366] This was typical of pyrotechnical treatises. From Biringucchio onwards, discussions of display fireworks were appended to detailed accounts of artillery and munitions.

Other commentators had even stronger links to military practice. 'One of the most important works in the history of artillery', the *Ars Magnae Artillerie pars prima* (*Great Art of Artillery, Part One*), was the work of Simienowicz, the Lithuanian-born Lieutenant General of Ordnance to the King of Poland.[367] The *Ars Magnae* was published in Amsterdam in 1650 to great acclaim.[368] Befitting Simienowicz's reputation as one of Europe's foremost artillery technicians, it was translated into French (1651), German (1676) and English (1729), remaining the classic text on the subject for over a century.[369] The most comprehensive of surviving manuals, it also became the standard recipe book for firework displays.

Simienowicz's position as practitioner at the Polish Ordnance and commentator on artillery technology was not unusual. In England, the most reputable writers on fireworks had both spent time as gunners at the Ordnance. Robert Norton, author of *The Gunner Shewing the Whole Practice of Artillerie* (1628), had become a gunner under the patronage of John Reynolds, Master Gunner of England, before his promotion in 1628 to Ordnance engineer, a post he held for life.[370] Norton's contemporary, John Babington, was the author of *Pyrotechnia* (1635), and had been appointed one of Charles I's

365 Paul Hills, 'Titian's Fire: Pyrotechnics and Representations in Sixteenth-Century Venice', *Oxford Art Journal*, 30:2 (2007), pp.185-204 (p.199).

366 Brock, *Pyrotechnics*, p.17; Fenton, 'Fireworks', p.50.

367 Boleslaw Orlowski, 'Polish Works and Serials in the History of Technology', *Technology and Culture*, 14:3 (July, 1973), pp.461-73 (p.464).

368 S.C. Rowell, 'The Face Beneath the Snow: The Baltic Region in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *The Historic Journal,* 44:2 (June, 2001), pp.541-58 (p.554).

369 *Volkommene Geschütz-, Feuer-werck- und Büchsenmeisterey-Kunst: hiebevor in Lateinischer Spraach beschrieben ... Anitzo in die Hochdeutsche Spraach übersetzet von T. L. Beeren. Mit Kupffern und einem gantzen neuen Theil vermehret durch D. Elrich*, trans. Daniel Elrich (Frankfurt am Main, In Verlegung Johann David Zunner, gedruckt bey HenrichFriessen, 1676); *The Great art of Artillery Of Casimir Simienowicz, formerly lieutenant-general of the Ordnance to the King of Poland*, trans. George Shelvocke (London: J. Tonson, 1729); John H. Stanley, 'Siemienowicz, Kazimierz', *Brown University Library: The Paul R. Dupee Jr. '65 Collection on Fireworks* [n.d], http://www.brown.edu/Facilities/University_Library/exhibits/Fireworks/4.html [accessed 18 May 2010]..

370 M.R. Glozier, 'Robert Norton (d.1635)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn Jan 2008), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20355 [accessed 5 March 2010].

'inferiour gunners' at the Ordnance.[371] Both men had considerable artillery expertise: as Ordnance gunners, they were expected to proof heavy ordnance, test gunpowder and maintain small and large firearms.[372] Babington, in addition, was a member of the Salters' Company, which may explain his emphasis on the chemical composition of the explosives used in various fireworks.[373]

That Babington and Norton were exact contemporaries at the Ordnance has implications for the transmission of pyrotechnical expertise and the professional networks that were able to facilitate this. Both men were posted to the Tower of London, home to the Ordnance before it moved to the Greenwich Laboratory, with Norton even living there from 1624.[374] In addition to receiving similar professional development, it was highly likely that the men knew one another personally. This would offer explanation for the significant overlaps in content between Norton and Babington's treatises. It is more certain that Babington was acquainted with another early English commentator, Bate, who included some cursory remarks about firework marking in of his miscellany of the curious and unusual, *The Mysteries of Nature and Art* (1634). While Bate provided the dedicatory poem prefacing *Pyrotechnia*, his descriptions of fireworks were little more than a précis of the directions found in Babington.[375]

These texts attested to the idea that display fireworks were, in part a form of preparation for war. Babington made this the subject of his dedicatory epistle to the *Pyrotechnia*, where he addressed Mountjoy Blount, the earl of Newport, arguing that fireworks for display had utility as a military training exercise, as they prepared the artilleryman for the battlefield:

371 R.E. Anderson, 'Babington, John (bap. 1604, d. after 1635)', rev. Anita McConnell, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/975[accessed 18 May 2010].

372 R.W. Stewart, *The English Ordnance Office: A Case-Study in Bureaucracy* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society, 1996), pp.16-17.

373 Anderson, 'Babington', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/975[accessed 18 May 2010].

374 Glozier, 'Norton', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20355 [accessed 5 March 2010].

375 Babington, *Pyrotechnia*, [n.p.]

…howsoever they may seeme to serve only for delight and exercise, yet as by the handling of the severall ingredients and their compositions…may excite and stirre up in an ingenious minde, sundry inventions more serviceable in times of Warre.[376]

Even in 'these halcyon days of peace and tranquillity', display fireworks were framed as technologies of war.[377]

In the late seventeenth century, the career of Martin Beckman illustrated the wide range of skills that were expected from the men employed by the Ordnance as firemasters, fireworkers and gunners. As we have already seen, Beckman was a celebrated artillery captain, military engineer and designer of major state festivals. Although he was the most prominent firemaster at the Ordnance at this time, his broad base of expertise were by no means exceptional. Records kept by the Ordnance also attested to the involvement of other men with comparable professional backgrounds. Like Beckman, other officers in the service of the Ordnance were 'of foreign extraction', and expected to produce explosives for the battlefield and celebration.[378] Captain Ernst Heinrich de Reiis (or Ruis) was also a Swedish-born artilleryman, who had experience in designing artillery (most notably a 'long chambered mortarpeece' and 'granadoe shells') and firework displays.[379] The latter included celebrations in November 1684 for Catherine of Braganza's birthday.[380] Nicolas Sleinsteine, who took over briefly from de Reiis, had previously served as the Prince of Orange's firemaster.[381] Beckman's most celebrated successor was the Danish-born Albert Bogaart, an artillery captain and military engineer appointed to the post of chief firemaster in 1712.[382]

Between them, Beckman, Bogaart and de Reiis served the English Ordnance as artillery captains, military engineers and designers of state-sponsored fireworks displays for over fifty years. Yet, these men only constituted the most high profile personnel involved. They were the project managers who supervised the production of the

376 ibid.

377 ibid.

378 H.C. Tomlinson, *Guns and Government: The Ordnance Office Under the Later Stuarts* (London: Royal Historical Society), p.49.

379 ibid; NRA, London, W/O 47-14, 30 September 1684 [n.p.]; NRA, London, W/O 47-14, 23 September 1684 [n.p.].

380 NRA, London, W/O 47/29, 19 December 1684 [n.p.]

381 Tomlinson, Guns and Gunners, p.49.

382 Baigent, Elizabeth, 'Borgard, Albert (1659–1751)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004; Online edn. Jan. 2008), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2904 [accessed 23 September 2010].

fireworks, but it was other less senior artillery personnel, the gunners, who actually made the pyrotechnic devices. Not all these men were cited by name in the relevant documentation, making it difficult to say within any degree of accuracy how many explosives technicians were employed on these projects.

In December 1684, for example, Thomas Browne, Henry Hill and 'His Ma[jest]ies feed gunners' were paid a total of £31 00s 06d for their contribution to the firework display for Catherine of Braganza's birthday. Captain de Reiis was in overall charge, but the wording of the document also suggests that Browne and Hill had a supervisory role in relation to a larger team of unnamed gunners.[383] Likewise, in 1695, for a display to celebrate the signing of the Treaty of Namur, Captain Baxter, firemaster, received £20 15s 00d for making the fireworks, while seven 'Extraord[inar]y men' were employed at the Greenwich Laboratory at a total cost of £12 00s 00d. It would seem likely in the context that Baxter wasn't the sole recipient of the entire sum, but was responsible for divvying up the money amongst a much larger team of men, much like Browne and Hill did for the display in 1684.[384] His colleague, Captain English, again a firemaster, also received an additional £00 10s 00d for completing unspecified tasks in connection with the same display.[385]

Medical bills provided additional evidence of the identities of the gunners who made fireworks for display. In both 1685, the coronation of James II, and 1688, as part of celebrations for the birth of his son and heir, Ordnance explosives personnel were injured during firework displays, reiterating just how dangerous fireworks were. These episodes will be discussed in greater detail below, but for the moment, it suffices to say that in both instances gunners and fireworkers in the Ordnance were expected to have the professional skills to produce display fireworks and explosives and artillery for the battlefield. In 1685, at least six men were employed in this capacity. These were Chris Parret, Thomas Lowe, Thomas Browne, John Cheavell, John Peterson and Samuel Farebrother.[386] Likewise, in 1688, the evidence suggested that at least six Ordnance gunners were involved in making the fireworks: George Browne, William Wood, George

383 N.R.A., London, W/O 47/29, December 1684 [n.p.].

384 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/51, 31 December 1695, f.99.

385 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/51, v.65.

386 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/30, 30 July 1685 [n.p.]

Guy, Thomas Dallark, Thomas Haxell and Thomas Rooke.[387] Notably, Thomas Browne also contributed to the display for Catherine of Braganza's birthday in 1684, showing the extent to which making display fireworks for state celebrations was part of the Ordnance gunner's job description.

The injury of a handful of men wasn't quite the tragic spectacle of Van Der Poel's painting of the aftermath of the magazine explosion in Delft. However, events in 1685 and 1688 did showcase just how dangerous fireworks were – even when in the 'right' hands. In fact, the Office of Ordnance's key role as organiser of major firework displays was a response to the dangers inherent in this kind of event, as its gunners, firemasters and fireworkers had professional training and expertise in the controlled deployment of explosives. The military backgrounds of the men also suggested the extent to which celebratory firework displays showcased the nation's artillery and pyrotechnic strengths.

From 1697, these anxieties were enshrined in state law. The Fireworks Act, passed that year, entirely prohibited the private use, manufacture and retail of fireworks, with only the Ordnance permitted to make and use fireworks for display.[388] In effect, the legislation of fireworks was an attempt to control access to gunpowder, both as a dangerous substance and key military resource. The ban also had a well-defined political dimension. Popular fireworks, such as crackers, serpents and squibs, were associated with subversive behaviour during celebrations, and were deemed to cause injury, damage and disorder. In one particularly harrowing episode, the wife of the Dutch ambassador lost her eye after a rogue cracker was thrown in her carriage on the evening of Gunpowder Treason Day (5 November) in 1683.[389]

387 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/38, 20 March 1688/9 [n.p.].

388 Sta. Gulielmi III. AD. 1697. C. 7. CAP. VIII. For more on legislation of fireworks in London, see Tierney, Playing With Fire, pp.114-19.

389 GHL, London, Proc. 16.40.

**Designing and Making Scenic Devices for Firework Displays**

Although the Office of Ordnance was in overall control of the production of state-funded firework displays in London, not all parts of the spectacle were produced in house. Instead, as in the production of triumphal architecture in Paris in 1660, aspects of the display had to be delegated to other personnel, most notably the large-format props and scenery that were the clearest indication that fireworks were being used with celebratory – not destructive or militarised – intent. The production of these props and scenery showed many parallels with the design and construction of other forms of occasional architecture, such as triumphal arches and amphitheatres. And, in both instances, the enterprise was hugely collaborative, involving input from a range of personnel to produce the scenic devices.

Early modern firework displays were collaborative precisely because they were multimedia. The fireworks were the responsibility of the Ordnance's artillery and explosives technicians, whereas a diverse group of craftsmen were employed to make the scenic apparatus, reflecting the range of different materials used to fashion the props and scenery. The vast majority of the apparatus made for displays in London was wooden, but additional components were made in ironwork. Surface decoration was applied in the form of paint or tin foil. Not all the components the Ordnance commissioned were decorative, with payments to craftsmen showing that additional functional devices, primarily fastenings, also had to be bought in.

Wood was the main material used to build display apparatus, as reflected by the composition of the workforce, with carpenters, cabinet-makers and joiners appearing in the greatest numbers. For celebrations to mark Catherine of Braganza's birthday in November 1684, de Reiis employed a core team of six labourers, a 'Cabinett-maker', a smith, a sawyer, two 'master Carpenters' and their assistants, men to turn wooden cases for the 'balloons' (globe or shell-type fireworks), a purveyor of goose quills, men to make staves for the rockets and chests to hold the same, a purveyor of 'br[as]s wyer', a 'Picture-drawer', a lighterman and his boats, and some soldiers to guard the fireworks once they were in place. Additional sums of money were also paid to cover the cost of

the ‘wateridge and carriage’ of the fireworks from the laboratory in Greenwich to Whitehall.[390]

Beckman’s expenses for the 1685 display attested to a similarly diverse workforce, with additional sums paid for ‘Ironworke for the Balloons, great Mortarp[e]eces & Triumph Gunns’.[391] As detailed above, celebrations for the Treaty of Namur in 1695, the Ordnance’s clerk, Thomas Ball, paid those ‘Employ[e]d in the Fireworks at St. James’s Square’ a total of £162 2s 11d.[392] The men who worked on the project included ‘7 Extraord[inar]y men Employed in the laboratory’, three smiths, ‘4 extra carpenters’, and sev[er]all men’ to watch ‘at night the fireworks & everything thereunto belonging’.[393] In 1697, for the display to mark the Peace of Ryswick, Beckman made payments to Nicolas Alcock, ‘a master Carver’, John Stockley ‘for Cartidge’, to Henry Howell ‘M[aste]r Painter’, and to John Winsley, Thomas Smith and John and Thomas Silvesters ‘for Smith Work’.[394]

Evidence of the scenic devices also showed the extent to which the design and construction of props and scenery was multimedia and collaborative. In 1685, for the coronation display, the main decorative features were two wooden ‘statues’, produced by an anonymous craftsmen for £39 10s 11d.[395] **(Fig.25.)** Three more wooden ‘statues’ provided the focal point in 1688, for the fireworks to mark the birth of the Prince of Wales, with Bernard II Lens’s mezzotint of the event showing two female allegorical figures and a small Bacchus. **(Fig.4.)** In 1697, for a display to celebrate the Peace of Ryswick, the ‘M[aste]r Carver’ Alcock was paid a total of £137 13s to carve in wood four ‘large figures 9 foot high each’, ‘one Flying Mercury being 3 fo[o]t long’, ‘another Mercury…18 Inch long’, and ‘another mercury 2 ft. high and solid’.[396]

One can only speculate on what these entities actually looked like. Both Sherwin and Collins’s engraving of the coronation display in 1685 and Lens’s mezzotint of the display

390 N.R.A., London, W/O 47/29, 4 June 1684-31 December 1684 [n.p.].

391 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/29, 21 March 1684/5 [n.p.].

392 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/55, 31 December 1695, f.99.

393 ibid.

394 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/55, f.95, f.153-f.154.

395 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/30, 8 March 1684/5 [n.d.].

396 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/55, 30 September 1697, v.67.

in 1688 depicted the 'statues' as if they were three-dimensional entities. In 1697, the 'mercury 2 ft. high and solid' would seem to be conceived in the round, but it is possible, too, that other figures made for the London displays resembled the female allegorical figures in Antwerp's Vleeshuis Museum, being flat images painted on wooden boards. The wording of relevant documentation doesn't tell us much more, referring to the main decorative devices as 'statues'. However, the term 'statue' didn't just denote three-dimensional figures in marble, metal, plaster or the like: a 'statue' could be used more loosely to describe an image or an effigy, which could, indeed, be flat, like those in Antwerp.[397]

Smaller decorative motifs were made in metalwork. In 1697, the Silvesters, both smiths, were paid £20 to produce four identical versions of William III's cipher '4 foot high ea[ch]'. Thomas White, also a smith, received £28 for '4 large crowns', each measuring '6ft high and 7ft wide'. No images survive of this firework display, but contemporary depictions of similar events in London depicted comparable devices. Collins and Sherwin's engraving of the coronation display in 1685 showed the combined cipher of James II and Mary of Modena and a imperial crown, while the anonymous mezzotint of the fireworks for the birth of the Prince of Wales in 1688 included James's cipher and another imperial crown. **(Figs.4., 25.)** Both images also showed sun-shaped emblems, which Ordnance records did not refer to explicitly.

Surviving visual and archival evidence also attested to the production of the textual captions that are clearly visible in both images of firework displays in London in the 1680s. Ordnance documentation even confirms the text included in the engraving of the coronation display in 1685, with Richard Ashworth and White, both smiths, paid £02 08s and £02 11s respectively to form 'SOL OCCUBUIT' AND 'SECUTA' in iron. Both of which were clearly visible in Sherwin and Collin's engraving of the occasion. Again, in 1697, for the Peace of Ryswick display, words were tailor made for the celebration, with White commissioned to cast in iron 'VIVAT REX', 'PEACE', 'CONCORD', 'VALOR and 'CONDUCT'.

397 OED.

The payments made to the smiths in 1697 also referred to the functional components that were used to fix the display apparatus together. White, Winsley and the Silvesters were paid for the manufacture of pins, sockets, straps, bolts, hasps, nails, chains and staples.[398] The Silvesters made '120 yard of chaine' and '22 cap hookes' to attach 'fireballs', globe or shell-type fireworks, to wooden columns.[399] Additional fastenings were used fix smaller decorative motifs to the occasion's large figurative 'statues'.[400] Thomas Smith was paid 5s 06d for 'sockets and strapps' to attach twelve suns to the largest Mercury, as carved by Alcock, while the Silvesters made 240 'Lawrell branches 18 inch long ea[ch]'.[401] The latter were hung on columns – possibly the same structures adorned with 'fireballs – by means of '350 pinns w[i]th Shoulders'.[402]

**Abstracting Explosions: Scheduling Firework Displays in London**

Details of Ordnance payments can be used to speculate on the order in which different parts of firework displays were made. The composite nature of firework displays, as a combination of explosives technology and elaborate scenic devices, illustrated the collaboration, coordination and control that were necessary in the successful management of all types of major urban festival. Arguably, firework displays were the most challenging form of event, as they required input from a highly skilled group of explosives technicians – in this instance, the firemasters, fireworkers and gunners that were employees of the Office of Ordnance.

It mattered, therefore, that buying the ingredients for the fireworks was the Ordnance's first task, as this suggests that making pyrotechnic devices was a top priority. In 1685, the display to celebrate the coronation of James II was scheduled to take place on 23 April. Thomas Amy was paid £84 18s 00d for 'the particulars' used to make the fireworks on 5 March 1685, nearly two months before the event.[403] Crucially, these ingredients did not include quantities of gunpowder, which do not appear in documents

398 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/55, v.152-f.153.

399 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/55, f.153.

400 ibid.

401 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/55, v.152-f.153.

402 ibid.

403 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/29, 5 March 1684/5 [n.p.].

relating to firework displays. As a government monopoly, one presumes supplies of gunpowder for fireworks were sourced from within the Ordnance. Instead, Amy's receipt included many of the additives discussed above: 'Oyle of Spice', 'Linseed oyle', 'Spiritt of Wine rectify[ie]d', 'Oyle of Peeter', turpentine, frankincense, antimony, 'Venice turpentine', camphor, 'allum', 'arrum pigmentum' and 'castile soap'.[404]

On 31 March 1688, Amy was paid £187 03s 04d to provide ingredients to make more celebratory fireworks, this time for the birth of a son and heir to James II, on the River Thames in front of Whitehall on 17 July.[405] On 16 October 1695, Amy received the more modest sum of £77 03s 02d for ingredients for a firework display in St. James's Square, which took place just a month later on 13 November. The latter was, in fact, a double celebration, marking both the signing of the Treaty of Namur and William III's birthday, which fell on 4 November (O.S.). In 1697, he received two payments for ingredients for the fireworks – the first on 30 September was for £216 02s 09d, the second on 30 October for £110 08s 00d. The display, to mark the Peace of Ryswick and the end of the Nine Years' War with France, eventually took place in St. James's Square exactly a month after Amy received his second payment on 30 November.

Construction of the display's scenic apparatus was also begun months in advance of the events. Preparations for the display for James II's coronation in 1685 were very well documented, with the first payment to the event's carpenters dated 12 March 1684/85.[406] Thirteen additional sums were paid to them at regular intervals for work conducted between 19 March and 5 May.[407] More telling were references to specific components from the event's decorative scheme, which can be identified using Sherwin and Collins' engraving of the display. On 8 March, £39 10s 11d was paid for '2 statues according to contract'.[408] These, we may can only assume, were the two large figurative devices that dominate the composition, 'Pater Patria' to the left and 'Monarchia' on the right-hand side. On 13 March, a carpenter was paid £12 05s 13d 'for stuff for the Pedastalls and pyramids', both of which can be seen in the engraving: the pedestals

404 ibid.

405 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/36, 31 May 1688.

406 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/30, 12 March 1684/5.

407 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-30, 19 March 1684/5-5 May 1685.

408 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-30, 18 March 1684/5.

supported the two figures, or 'statues', and two pyramids framed the motifs at the image's centre: a sun, an imperial crown and James and Mary's royal cipher.[409]

Finish, in the form of paint or 'tinn-file', offers further indication of when parts of the display apparatus were completed, or, at an advanced stage of construction. As early as 15 March, an unidentified worker was paid £03 00s 00d for painting the '6 swanns' visible in the foreground of the engraving, implying that these relatively minor scenic devices were finished over a month before the performance.[410] On 4 April, Albert Caine was paid £20 15s 05d for 'Painting the Rocket chests and statues', suggesting that the bulk of the occasion's scenic apparatus was ready to install by this point.[411] It is worth noting that later payments are less specific, as after 4 April, less effort was made to stipulate exactly when a payment had been made. Nevertheless, at some point in the latter stages, Elizabeth Hudson, the only named woman to be involved in the production of this – or any – display, supplied 72 lb of 'tinn file for covering his Ma[jestie]s name, crown and sunn at 16 d a lb'.[412]

In 1695, for the Treaty of Namur display, Colonel Richards disbursed 'monies' on 30 October, including £00 14s 00d to cover the cost of smith work.[413] On the same date, John Dodson was paid £44 09s 00d for tin leaf and tin plate, which suggests that, as in 1685, a foil finish was applied to some of the scenic apparatus.[414] Unusually, most payments for the props and scenery for the Namur display were retrospective. On 31 December, over a month and a half after the display, Thomas Ball, clerk to the Ordnance, disbursed various sums of money. These included £12 00s 00d to an unnamed smith for ironwork, and £06 08s 06d to Mr Crow for four extra carpenters and two labourers. Richard Apperly, smith, received a total of £04 07s 06d for 35 days work, while Henry Bishop, another smith, received £03 00s 00d for 20 days work.[415]

409 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/30, 21 March 1684/5 [n.p.].
410 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/30, 15 March 1684/5 [n.p.]
411 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/30, 4 April 1685 [n.p.]
412 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/30 [n.d.], [n.p.].
413 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/51, f.74
414 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/51, f.38.
415 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/51, f.99.

In 1697, for the Peace of Ryswick display, Nicolas Alcock, 'master carver', received £137 13s 00d on 30 September, the same date Amy received his first payment for ingredients for the fireworks.[416] Other payments for individual components of the display apparatus were retrospective, with both Thomas White, smith, receiving £60 06s 02d, and Henry Howell, master painter, receiving £149 07s 9½d at an unspecified point in December 1697.[417]

Once the fireworks and scenic devices were made, they had to be transported to the display's location, and then installed. Transportation costs provide a useful indication of when the final preparations were being made, with at least part of an event's scenic apparatus and pyrotechnical devices being in place well in advance of the firework display. In 1688, Robert Bennett was charged with providing 'Barges & Hoys [,] Lighters and Boates for the service of the Late Royall Triumphant ffireworks', which celebrated the birth of the Prince of Wales.[418] On 30 October 1695, as part of celebrations for the Treaty of Namur, £01 06s 06d was paid to cover the cost of carriage of stores from Scotland Yard to St. James's Square, the location of the display, and back again, suggesting that at least part of the display's apparatus were ready two weeks in advance of its scheduled date, 13 November.[419] Likewise, on 7 November, Thomas Williams, waterman, received £5 15s 06d for 'carrying Captain Inglish, fireworks & co' between the Tower and Woolwich '(back and forth)'.[420] Additional sums were disbursed for transportation for this event, with Henry Hill, carter, receiving £02 17s 00d for 'Carriage worke for the Luminary and Fireworks', and Williams receiving an extra payment of £03 16s 06d for 'boat hyre'.[421] However, it is unclear whether this was transportation of goods before or after the event, as both sets of payments were retrospective.

So, what can we actually learn from lists of who was paid what, what for and when? Broadly speaking, the organisation of firework displays, irrespective of size or occasion, appears to have conformed to the same basic timetable, with ingredients for the

416 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/55, v.38.

417 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/55, v.152-f.154.

418 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/36, 28 July 1688 [n.p.].

419 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/51, f.74.

420 ibid.

421 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/51, v.65.

fireworks bought first, before the scenic devices were commissioned at a slightly later date. Slight differences in the organisation of the events reflected whether or not an occasion was expected or not, with preparations for a seasonal event, like Catherine of Braganza's birthday in 1684, beginning six months in advance, while the displays for the Treaty of Namur in 1695 and Peace of Ryswick in 1697 were pulled together much faster. In all instances, however, the Office of Ordnance's explosives technicians took charge, reflecting the anxieties that attended the successful deployment of pyrotecnology, and the premium placed on getting firework displays right.

**Section I**
**Chapter 4**

## Bonfires

It is impossible to imagine an early modern celebration without its bonfires. In *L'Entrée Triomphante*, Tronçon included a wonderfully evocative description of the illuminations and bonfires that marked Louis's entrée into Paris in 1660. He wrote, '*Quoy que chacun se fut efforcé de témoigner le feu dont son Coeur estoit embrace, par ceux qu'il alluma deuant da porte, ou qu'il briller à ses fenestres*'.[422] Alongside bell ringing, health drinking, illuminations and fireworks, bonfires were a crucial part of the 'versatile vocabulary of celebration' in the early modern period, combining heat and light in a show that was emblematic of the emotional warmth celebrations were meant to inspire.[423]

This section looks at the contribution made by bonfires to the early modern celebratory city. Rather than itemise when bonfires were lit, an approach that has characterised social and, in particular, political histories of the period, this is the first discussion of the subject to focus on their structural properties through consideration of the materials used and evidence of the shape and size of bonfires. Like scaffolding, the design ideas behind bonfires cannot be located in technical manuals or design documentation, like sketches, plans or blueprints. Instead, it is necessary to scour other, primarily textual, sources to identify, first, what was needed to make a successfully celebratory bonfire and, second, the ideals that were associated with them. Written evidence in festival literature, eyewitness accounts, and newspapers highlighted the main appeal of bonfires, as the ability to give out light and heat, and provide a 'vibrant visual focus' for celebrations.[424]

The notion that bonfires functioned as a festive hub revealed the communality that enabled their construction. State and municipal legislation issued in the days before special occasions showed the extent to which bonfires were an expected part of

422 'Each person endeavoured to show the fire that filled his heart, through those that were lit before his door, or which burned at his windows'. *Tronçon 1662*, 'Feu D'Artifice', p.4.

423 Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, p.67.

424 ibid, p.80.

festivities as part of seasonal and one-off celebrations. These documents also suggested the local networks that were in place to build bonfires, and the extent to which the preparations took place in public. In London, the local officers of law-enforcement, the beadles and constables, were responsible for implementing these directives, going door-to-door at parish level to ensure that bonfires were built on the designated occasions.[425]

And yet, the evidence also suggests that the ideal bonfire wasn't the product of local government coercion, but was a spontaneous act by the community and constituted a show of popular and universal celebration. In November 1663, Pepys's account of celebrations for the birthday of Catherine of Braganza revealed the unspoken rules that governed the perception of preparations:

> This day being our Queene's birthday, the guns went all off; and in the evening the Lord Mayor sent from church to church to order the constables to cause bonfires to be made in every streete, which methinks is a poor thing to be forced to be commanded.[426]

Catherine and Charles had only married the year before in 1662, meaning celebration of the Queen's birthday was a reasonably new addition to the celebratory calendar. However, even with this proviso, festivities in 1663 were compromised by the need for coercion, as noted by Pepys, with the implication being that it fell short of being a genuine celebration because local law enforcement officers were required to intervene and direct proceedings.

This episode is highly suggestive of the ideals that were invested in bonfires, which, one infers, were meant to function as marks of genuine and spontaneous celebration. Pepys's description was highly critical of the spectacle of constables going from door-to-door to encourage householders to build bonfires, and interpreted this coercion as a sign of apathy. This would suggest that, although local government mechanisms were in place to ensure that bonfires were built for officially sanctioned celebrations, too much

425 See, for example: COL/CC/01/01/047, v.6, 17 September 1679; COL/CC/01/01/048, v.143, 13 October 1685; COL/CC/01/01/048, v.330, 14 January 1688.

426 Sunday 15 November 1663, *Pepys*, iv.382.

involvement by local law-enforcement officers was, in fact, evidence of failed celebration.

Although bonfires were lit for all types of urban celebration, they are most often associated with annual events, such as Fête Saint-Jean (24 June) in Paris and Gunpowder Treason Day (5 November) in London. Attuned to local colour and custom, the Dutch Golden Age painter William Schellinks described the latter in the account of his travels to England in the early 1660s:

> On the 5th old or 15th December [sic. November] new style in the evening of the gunpowder plot, or the anniversary of the gunpowder treason of the year [1605] in the reign of King James is celebrated in London; many bonfires are lit all over the town in celebration, and a great lot of fireworks are let off and thrown amongst the people.[427]

The absence of bonfires on seasonal occasions spoke volumes. Writing in 1666, the year of the Great Fire of London, Pepys remarked, with great sadness, on the lacklustre observation of Gunpowder Treason Day, 'I home by coach, but met not one bonfire through the whole town in going round by the Wall; which is strange, and speaks the melancholy disposition of the City at present'.[428]

More typical, however, were attempts to contain overenthusiastic celebration of events. In both Paris and London, municipal and state proclamations attempted to regulate bonfire building and burning. In London, successive waves of legislation sought to place a curfew on the activity by ensuring that 'all such bonefires shall be made be extinguished & put out between 10 & 11 of the clock'.[429] Attempts to control the activity attested to the political anxieties that were associated with urban bonfires. By providing a festive hub, they were also seen to be a focus for disorderly, potentially subversive, crowd behaviour.

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427 5 November 1662, *Journal of William Schellinks Travels in England 1661-1663*, trans. and ed. by Maurice Exwood and H.L. Lehman, Camden Fifth Series: 1 (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1993), p.172.

428 5 November 1666, *Pepys*, vol.vii, p.358. The Great Fire started on 2 September 1666. A strong easterly wind fanned its flames and within three days much of the City and some parts of London's suburbs were in ruins. Harris, *London Crowds*, pp.79-80; Harris, *Restoration*, pp.70, 79-80, 150-51, 164; Porter, *London*, pp.80, 84-88, 86, 88.

429 LMA, London, COL/CC/01/01/044, [r.244].

This was most evident in London in the 1670s and 1680s, when celebration of Gunpowder Treason Day and the anniversary of the accession of Elizabeth I (17 November) became more elaborate. These events had long been the focal point of anti-Catholic and xenophobic tensions, but their observation intensified in line with the increasingly fraught political situation.[430] Urban festival reflected the concerns of high politics, in particular the Exclusion Crisis (1679-81), and the very real fear that England's next king would be a Catholic. Charles II had failed to produce any legitimate male heirs, making his younger brother, the Catholic James, Duke of York, next in line in to the throne. In Parliament, Whig factions attempted to push through an Exclusion Act to remove James from the succession in favour of the Protestant daughters from his first marriage, Mary and Anne.[431]

On the streets, London experienced what Sheila Williams has termed 'Protestant Carnival'. This was most notable during the years of the Pope-burning Processions, which took place annually on 17 November in 1679, 1680 and 1681. These were 'living tableau as political cartoons', and were deliberately devised to mimic Catholic processions. As the name suggests, these events concluded with the Pope being burnt in effigy on a colossal bonfire.[432] The basic procession, composed of living participants in fancy dress, figurative effigies and props, was adapted and elaborated in order to provide commentary on current affairs. In 1680, for example, a pageant of Mrs Cellier, a meal tub and treacherous Protestants in 'pye-bald habits' alluded to that year's Meal-tub Plot.[433]

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430 Shelia Williams, 'The Pope-burning Processions of 1679, 1680 and 1681', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21:1-2 (1958), pp.104-118 (p.104). For more about England's post-Reformation calendar and the importance in the late seventeenth century of observation of 5 and 17 November, see: Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, pp.172-3, 174-85; Williams, 'The Pope-burning Processions', pp104-7.

431 For more about the Exclusion Crisis and the political climate of the 1670s and 1680s, see: Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Tim Harris, 'Propaganda and Public Opinion in Seventeenth-century England', *Media and the Revolution: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by Jeremy D. Popkin (Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky, 1995), pp.48-73; Tim Harris, 'Perceptions of the Crowd in later Stuart London', *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720*, ed. by J.F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.250-72; Tim Harris, *Restoration: the Kingdoms of Charles II, 1660-1685* (Harmondsworth: Allen Lane, 2005); Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis 1678-81* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

432 Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, p.179.

433 Alan Marshall, 'Dangerfield, Thomas (1654–1685)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; Online edn, 2008), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7109, [accessed 23 September 2010].

Although this kind of elaborate political spectacle was an exception rather than the rule, the proclamations relating to bonfires that were issued before Gunpowder Treason Day were also a barometer of the political mood. From the 1670s onwards, celebration of 5 November was increasingly anti-Catholic, politically oppositional and disruptive. James's conversion to Catholicism first became public knowledge in 1673, and it was in this year that apprentices first burnt the Pope in effigy on a huge bonfire at Temple Bar – a ritual repeated annually until the 1680s.[434] Less theatrical bonfires were also subject to greater legislation, with both state and civic government attempting to enforce an earlier curfew by ordering that all bonfires be extinguished by 10 pm. More tellingly, the proclamations issued in the early 1680s (1680, 1682, 1683) made oblique reference to bonfires being hijacked by political subversives 'who commonly make use of such Occasions to turn those meetings into Riots and Tumults'.[435]

The latter was clearly in response to the heightened out-of-doors agitation that had characterised the Exclusion Crisis. And yet, evidence of the conflicted attitude of state and civic institutions in London can also be used to say something about general ideals invested in bonfires. On the one hand, the appearance of bonfires throughout the city was meant to signal spontaneous celebration, unlike the coerced fires built in Pepys's description of Catherine of Braganza's birthday in 1663. On the other, these activities were centrally controlled and were intended to take place within the boundaries provided by state or civic directives. There were, as we have seen, deviations from this, with bonfires being built on unofficial occasions – the Pope-burning Processions, say – or being appropriated by 'tumultuous' individuals.

**Nighttime and the Meaning of Bonfires**

A historically attuned sense of the meaning of nighttime in the early modern period only enhances our understanding of the experiential impact bonfires had, as well the emotion responses they evoked. The notion that bonfires provided a communal hub must be linked to the idea that they fostered conditions that were conducive to

434 Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, pp.173-78; Harris, Restoration, pp.81-2, 95, 186-8, 197, 265, 285-7, 339, 352.

435 GH Proc. 15.57. See also: GH Proc. 16.21; GH Proc. 16.19; GH. Proc. 16.40.

conviviality. By producing heat and light, they can be framed as enacting a kind of celebratory opposition, creating 'light in the darkness, warmth in the cold, and a vibrant visual focus for a crowd'.[436] In order to fully understand the ideals invested in bonfires, it is worth dwelling momentarily on contemporary perceptions of the night. Arguably, the use of bonfires on special occasions performed the struggle between light and dark, concentrating early modern anxieties about nighttime, when the hours after dark were regarded as loci of criminality, crisis and disorder.[437]

Nightfall was invariably contrasted with the day, which embodied order and control. This idea has particular currency in scholarship on early modern criminality, such as Paul Griffith's work on 'nightwalking' in seventeenth-century England. For Griffiths, night's association with the ungodly was 'a timeless concern', stretching back 'as far as records allow us to travel'.[438] Fear of the dark pulsed through seventeenth-century writing about criminality, with nightfall acting as the perfect cover for unnatural deeds, including prostitution, theft, abandonment of children, assault and murder.[439] One contemporary publication, *The Complete Justice* (1638), argued that individuals engaged in criminal activity rejected the day-lit world of honest labour, choosing instead 'to sleep by day and walk abroad by night'.[440] A topsy-turvy world that was also present in William Sheppard's *New Survey of the Justice of the Peace His Office* (1659), where 'the idle fellow who use to sleep by day and walk abroad by night' was 'suspected of dishonest courses'.[441]

The association of night with disorderly, often criminal, activities was evident, too, in writing on street lighting, which can be framed as an attempt to impose 'structure and order' on the night.[442] By seventeenth-century standards, Paris was the 'city of light, with a central directive compelling that lanterns were fixed at regular intervals along

436 Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, p.80.

437 A. Roger Ekirch, *At Day's Close: A History of Nighttime* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2005), p.xxv; Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night: the Industrialisation of Light* (Oxford: Berg, 1998), p.81.

438 Paul Griffiths, 'Meanings of Nightwalking in Early Modern England', in *Seventeenth-Century Journal*, vol.13.2 (autumn 1998), pp.212-38 (p.216). See also: Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night*, p.81.

439 Griffiths, 'Meanings of Nightwalking', pp.219-20.

440 Griffiths, 'Meanings of Nightwalking', p.213.

441 ibid.

442 Ekirch, *At Day's Close*, pp.72-3.

major thoroughfares. Contemporary perceptions of the initiative's value can been seen in the two medals struck to commemorate it, as part of Louis XIV's prestigious medallic history.[443] By contrast, the citizens of London retained their independence by maintaining the older tradition whereby individual householders were responsible for putting a 'lanthorn', or lantern, outside the door, with the public oil lamps, introduced in 1683, only being lit on the darkest winter nights.[444]

In our electronically lit world, it is impossible to imagine just how dark night was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Even with the addition of Louis's primitive street lighting, huge swathes of Paris, beyond its main streets, would have been cloaked in darkness once the sun had set. With its more ad hoc arrangements, London would have been even darker. This discussion of night and street lighting has been suggestive rather than comprehensive, but it does give some indication of how culturally and historically specific the experience of nighttime was. And, by extension, just how much impact bonfires had. With this in mind, it is difficult not to recall of Pepys's unabashed enthusiasm on Coronation Night 1661 and his description of the City having 'a light like glory round about it with bonfires'.[445]

**Creating A Sense of Occasion: 'Grat Bonfires'**

As a constant source of light and heat, bonfires embodied the real and symbolic need to keep nighttime at bay.[446] Contemporary descriptions emphasised the structural properties of bonfires and elucidated their transformational capacity. The bonfires made to mark major public celebrations were far from limp piles of leaves and twigs relegated to the darkest corner of a suburban garden. Instead, as in the diarist Thomas Rugg's account of the Restoration in London in May 1660, they could be huge. He observed:

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443 Shivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night*, pp.87-9.

444 William T. O'Dea, *The Social History of Lighting* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul), p.95-97; Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night*, pp.87-9; Ekirch, *At Day's Close*, p.73.

445 23 April 1661, *Pepys*, ii.87.

446 The constant light and heat produced by bonfires can be contrasted with the less steady form of illumination associated with fireworks, which is best characterised as 'flash', which only displaces darkness for a short period of time. For more about 'flash', see: Alexander Nemerov, 'Burning Daylight: Remington, Electricity and Flash Photography', in Frederick Remington: The Color of Night, ed. by Nancy K. Anderson (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp.76-95 (pp.79-80).

…in severall streets grat bonfires made att the corners, tow or three stories high, with pitched barrels, and on top of some a streamer with a crowne or Charles the Second pictured thereon. [447]

This sense of scale was confirmed by examples built the following year to celebrate the coronation of Charles II on 23 April 1661. Pepys remarked upon the 'three great bonfires' built to mark the coronation in Axe Yard, the cul-de-sac in Westminster where he had lived since August 1658. [448]

Contemporary newspapers were equally emphatic, stressing the massive scale on which bonfires could be built by routine employment of terms such as 'great' or 'mighty'. Although this was clearly part of the rhetoric of festival, the repetition of key terms gives some sense of what was deemed to make a successful bonfire. In Norwich, for example, in May 1682, a 'very great Bonfire was built in the very same place it was on the Coronacion-day' as part of 'the great Triumph the Loyal Inhabitants of this City had on Monday last…the Birth-day and Restoration' of Charles II.[449] In Scarborough in 1688, a 'great bonfire' was built before the door of the Mayor's house to mark the birth of the Prince of Wales, while the same event was observed with yet another 'great Bonfire' at Bayly Hall in Lancashire.[450]

Alternatively, the size of a bonfire was suggested by the amount of heat and light it was supposed to give out. One particularly impressive example, built by John Michael Jr., esq., on the outskirts of Dorchester in Dorset was reckoned as visible 'almost to Plymouth near 80 Miles West, and at the Needles in the Isle of White 40 Miles East.'[451] Whether or not this was a realistic estimation of the bonfire's brilliance is not the point- even as hyperbole, this description gives some sense of the characteristics with which a large bonfire was invested.

447 May 1660 [n.d.], Thomas Rugg, *The diurnal of Thomas Rugg*, 1659-61 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1961), p.86.

448 Tuesday 23 April 1661, *Pepys*, ii.87.

449 Thursday 8 June, *Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence* (London, England), issue 165.

450 Thursday 12 July 1688, *London Gazette* (London, England), issue 2364; Monday 25 June 1688, *London Gazette* (London, England), issue 2359.

451 Wednesday 27 October 1714, *Daily Courant* (London, England); issue 4059.

And yet, what do these descriptions actually tell us? One wonders what constituted a 'great' bonfire: how it was made, or what it was made from? Large-scale bonfires could involve whole communities in their construction, as the necessary fuel had to be collected by means of public and private donations. Most bonfires were largely composed of firewood, a valuable commodity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[452] The addition of other kinds of combustible matter enhanced their flammability, with evidence suggesting that rubbish, faggots (a bundle of sticks, twigs or small branches bound together), barrels of pitch, 'pit-coals' (coal obtained from a pit or mine, as distinct from charcoal) and gunpowder were all used. Additionally, the *Collection for Improving of Husbandry and Trade,* published in 1695, brought in some local colour, suggesting that bonfires were made of very different stuff in Ireland, where:

> …sometimes in lieu of a Bonfire, they dip a Bottle of Hay in a Vessel of melted Tallow, and pull it out again; then when cold, set it on a Pole, and light it, the Blaze whereof is seen a great way.[453]

Descriptions in contemporary newspapers often outlined the materials burnt to make a specific bonfire. In common with other types of source, each structure was related to the munificence of named individuals, meaning that the provision of flammable matter became an indicator of who had taken a leading role in festivities. Typically, accounts privileged the use of more unusual materials, restricting references to prosaic substances, such as firewood, to those occasions upon which notably vast quantities had been burnt.

In November 1700, the Honourable William Pierpoint, Esq., of Nottingham, 'gave a Tun of Pit-Coals for a Bonfire before his Door' to mark the birthday of William III.[454] While in 1708, as part of celebrations for the Duke of Marlborough's 'signal' victory over the French in Flanders, 'the Nobility and Gentry' of Tunbridge Wells 'order'd a Bonfire to be made on the Top of the Hill, in which was 7 Waggon Load of Wood.'[455] Further north in

452 Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, pp..80-1.

453 Friday 8 February 1695, *Collection for the Improving of Husbandry and Trade* (London, England), issue 132.

454 Wednesday 6 November 1700, *English Post Giving an Authentick Account of the Transactions of the World Foreign and Domestick* (London, England), issue 12.

455 Friday 9 July 1708, *Daily Courant* (London, England); issue 1994.

Peckford, Yorkshire, another industrious citizen, Sir William Lowther, Bart., 'order'd a great Bonfire to be made of Coals, and other combustible Matters' to be lit after a horse race to celebrate the first anniversary of the 'happy Accession to the Crown' of George I in August 1715.[456]

Bonfires were also inflammatory in less literal ways. On some occasions, unusual substances were burnt with deliberately satirical intent. Most famously, crowds in London roasted 'rumps', or sides of beef, over bonfires on 11 February 1660.
This act is typically read as an actualisation of 'the demise of the Rump Parliament…and the calling of the English Convention', which would restore Charles Stuart as king.[457]
Recent studies have attempted to elucidate the 'figure of the Rump' in 'English political discourse' in the years before and after 1660.[458] This mode of interpretation enhances our understanding of early modern political discourse and the fluid, often contested and contradictory nature of the language and imagery it employed.

However, overemphasis on the representations found in printed texts and images detracts from the wider experiential dimensions of the event. In common with other occasions discussed in this thesis, burning 'rumps' in 1660 was the end product of a design process by means of which the action of roasting meat was deemed to be the most appropriate response to the needs of the political moment. The spectacle of the burning rumps had more than a visual impact – it was intensely multi-sensory, most notably by means of the smell produced by the meat as it, first, roasted, then burnt. This olfactory spectrum recalled both the provision of cooked meats on festival occasions, but also the stench of burning flesh during the most grisly public executions for treason.[459]

In another incident, Pepys recalled detritus from the previous regime being used to fuel bonfires for the coronation of Charles II in 1661. At an auction of Commonwealth naval

456 Tuesday 23 August 1715, *St. James's Evening Post* (London, England), issue 37.
457 Harris, *Restoration*, pp.14-15.
458 Mark S. R. Jenner, 'The Roasting of the Rump: Scatology and the Body Politic in Restoration England', *Past and Present*, no.177 (Nov. 2002), pp.84-120. For a stimulating and provative response to Jenner's thesis, see: Angela McShane, 'Debate: The Roasting of the Rump: Scatology and the Body Politic in Restoration England', *Past and Present*, 196 (August 2007), pp.253-72. For Jenner's reply to McShane's comments, see: Mark S. R. Jenner, 'Reply', *Past and Present*, 196 (August 2007), pp.273-86.
459 Jenner, 'The Roasting of the Rump', pp.114-16.

paraphernalia, the diarist recorded his senior colleague, the Surveyor of the Navy, Sir William Batten, buying 'all the State's arms…intending to set up some of the images in his garden, and the rest to burn on the Coronacion night.'[460] Batten bought the Arms of State some two weeks before Coronation Day on 23 April, but clearly already had a purpose in mind for them. Rugg described a more extreme form of preparatory degradation, as the youths of Boston, Lincolnshire dragged the Commonwealth Arms of State 'up and down the streets, had the beadles whip them, pissed and shat on them, and then burnt them.'[461]

**Structural Bonfires**

Bernard II Lens's *Perfect Description of the Fireworks in Covent Garden* challenges the assumption that bonfires amounted to little more than a randomly accumulated mass of flammable stuff. **(Fig.26.)** True, one such fire was shown to the right of his composition, comprising little more than a shapeless blur of smoke and flames, and surrounded by a largely peaceable crowd. In stark contrast, the left of Lens's mezzotint was dominated by a structure with definable built components. It consisted of a central mast pinioning three tiers of platforms, graduating from the biggest at the bottom to the smallest at the top. A large square platform formed the lowest level, with additional support provided by struts. The platform was decorated with four obelisk-style motifs at each of its four corners. The mid-level comprised a much smaller platform that held several wooden barrels. We can but assume, but taking heed of the newspaper reports cited above, it was more than likely that these contained pitch or a similarly flammable substance. Finally, the upper level comprised a single flaming barrel, with the mast topped off with an undecorated pennant.

A vividly hand-coloured edition of Romeyn de Hooghe's colossal engraving of celebrations for the coronation of William and Mary in 1689 also featured a range of structures that can be categorised as bonfires. **(Fig.27.)** De Hooghe depicted tiered structures that were similar to those in Lens's mezzotint, but also included branched entities that were akin to trees or large candelabra. The latter, in turn, were reminiscent

460 Tuesday 9 April 1661, *Pepys*, ii.69.

461 Jenner, 'The Roasting of the Rump', p.98.

of structures in another de Hooghe etching, which was made to commemorate episodes from the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-74). The central panel, showing peace celebrations in The Hague in 1674, included a candelabra-style structure that was adorned with flaming pots. Monumental candelabra were a feature, too, of Hendrick Pola's etching of celebrations in The Hague in 1713. **(Fig.51.)** In this instance the individual branches of the candelabra held unlit tapers, and not the more substantial pots shown in de Hooghe's 1674 etching. This would indicate that these were examples of illuminations, a more refined festival light source, and not a form of bonfire.

Significantly, all the images showed structural bonfires that were multipurpose. Both Lens's mezzotint and de Hooghe's engraving of the coronation showed fireworks being launched from structural bonfires. More curious was de Hooghe's addition of decorative motifs, including flags, pennants, royal ciphers, achievements of arms and imperial crowns, which were intended to invest the bonfires with more focused political meaning. However, as in the case of firework displays, the presence of meaningful scenic devices was a risky strategy. Whereas Pepys described Batten's designed, deliberate destruction of the Commonwealth's arms, de Hooghe's engraving proposed the accidental, though no less inevitable incineration of the hallmarks of royal power. In this instance, the occasion's ideals became yet more fuel with which to fan the flames.

It could, of course, be argued that de Hooghe's depiction of the bonfires was little more than a representational strategy, allowing him to show more devices that legitimated William and Mary's reign. And yet, the structures depicted in his engraving were reminiscent of Rugg's description of elaborate bonfires built to mark the Restoration in London, as cited above. Rugg's 'grat bonfires' that had the structural integrity to stand 'tow or three stories high' and support the weight of 'pitched barrels'. Some were even festooned with decorations in the form of 'a streamer with a crowne or Charles the Second thereon.'[462]

Textual descriptions also alluded to the supports and construction techniques that permitted such huge bonfires to be built. In February 1680, the Brandenburg resident marked 'the Peace concluded between the two Northern Crowns' with a 'bonfire of

462 May 1660 [n.d.], Rugg, *Diurnal*, p.86.

about 20 yards high, much Art being showed in the Architecture of it, to the compiling of which was allowed 4000 Faggots, besides other more combustible matter to increase the flames.'[463] A bonfire built in Great Yarmouth to celebrate the birth of the Prince of Wales in July 1688 showed equal art in its architecture. It was 'of an extraordinary heighth [sic.], the Mast on which it was built being above 70 Foot high' and 'furnished with a number of Pitch Barrels, Faggots, and other combustible matter.'[464] The town of Farnham in Surrey celebrated the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 by building a bonfire that was huge even by contemporary standards. It consisted of 'several Loads of Faggots, Bavins and Health, and 20 Pitch and Tar-Tubs' on a hill '2 miles out of Town.' Compellingly, at the heart of the bonfire 'stood a Tree [which was] 50 foot out of the Ground.'[465] One can only wonder what this 'Tree' actually was – whether it was, indeed, the entire trunk of a tree, or a branched structure, similar to those visible in de Hooghe's representations of celebrations in 1674 and 1688/9.

As these examples have shown, the bonfires built on special occasions were major feats of design and engineering that involved the arrangement of large quantities of combustible matter into clearly defined structures. As the final part of this chapter shows, the construction of bonfires had a clearly defined public aspect. Where occasional architecture and firework displays were partially constructed off site before being installed in situ, bonfires were entirely built in clear view of the city's inhabitants. To conclude this discussion, we will focus on the process by which two bonfires were constructed in London in the late seventeenth century. Comparing and contrasting the two episodes illustrates the extent to which the procedures associated with the production of official celebratory bonfires, most notably the communal assembly of necessary materials, could be appropriated to politically subversive and oppositional ends.

463 Tuesday 10 February 1680, *True Domestick Intelligence or News Both from City and Country* (London, England).

464 Thursday 5 July 1688, *London Gazette* (London, England); issue 2362.

465 Thursday 23 July 1713, *Post Boy* (London, England); issue 2841.

**Scheduling Bonfires and Spectacular Preparations**

Bonfires were, relatively speaking, a last-minute preparation, as unlike triumphal architecture or firework displays, they weren't months in the making. Even 'grat bonfires', measuring two or three stories high, only took days to construct, but more often bonfires were constructed, lit and consumed within the same day. This is corroborated both by the evidence of individual bonfires and the state and civic legislation issued in the week before a celebration. In both Paris and London, the proclamations ordering bonfires to be built were only issued in the days immediately before an event. In London, as part of preparations for Gunpowder Treason Day (5 November), citizens were given four days notice, with proclamations usually issued on, or around, 1 November.[466] In Paris, the situation was remarkably similar, with *ordonnances* for Fête Saint-Jean (24 June) issued on or around 20 June.[467] Significantly, these were both seasonal events, and took place on the same date every year. On these occasions, the necessary preparations for building a bonfire, not to mention the proclamations compelling them, were anticipated, becoming part of the natural cycle of the year in much the same way as the appearance of fairy lights in the modern high street heralds the onslaught of Christmas.

The way in which bonfires were constructed had an important public dimension. This was, to a great extent, linked to how the materials for the bonfire were actually pulled together. In theory, representatives from local government went door-to-door collecting donations from individual householders. As suggested above, however, the ideal bonfire was a spontaneous act of celebration that marked a day of occasion, as appointed by official government institutions. Crucially, it was constructed using materials that had been freely donated by local inhabitants. It was not, in short, coerced,

466 See, for example: COL/CC/01/01/044, v.7, 1 November 1664; COL/CC/01/01/044, r.244, 1 November 1665; COL/CC/01/01/045, [n.p.], 1 November 1669; COL/CC/01/01/045 [n.p.], 2 November 1672; COL/CC/CC/01/01/046, v.177, 2 November 1675; COL/CC/01/01/047, r.1, 1 November 1678; COL/CC/01/01/047, v.76, 3 November 1679; COL/CC/01/01/047, r.265, 3 November 1681; COL/CC/01/01/049, r.25, 1 November 1689; COL/CC/01/01/049, v.240, 1 November 1692; COL/CC/01/01/050, v.106, 1 November 1695; COL/CC/01/01/051, 358, 31 October 1701; COL/CC/01/01/051, 416, 3 November 1702 COL/CC/01/01/052, 137, 2 November 1704; COL/CC/01/01/051, 522, 31 October 1705; COL/CC/01/01/052, 536, 30 October 1706; COL/CC/01/01/047, 630, 31 October 1707; COL/CC/01/01/053, r.1, 1 November 1708.

467 See, for example: A.N., Paris, K1001.235, 20 June 1679; A.N., Paris, K1001.265, 20 June 1682; A.N., Paris, K1002.4, 21 June 1686; A.N., Paris, K1002.50, 21 June 1690; K1002.74, 20 June 1691; A.N., Paris, K1002.83, 21 June 1692.

like the bonfires for Catherine of Braganza's birthday in 1663, of which Pepys was so scathing.

On first glance, a bonfire built in Lincoln's Inn Field, London in October 1686 to celebrate the birthday of the reigning monarch, James II, would appear to fulfil all the important criteria. The bonfire was 'made by the common purse, by the instigation of and procurement of two very good Church of England Magistrates', Mr Justice Wythens and Mr Done, both resident in the area. Diarist Roger Morrice's account of Wythens and Done's actions gave a remarkably full description of the networks of production that led to its construction:

[They] spoak to the Church Wardens and Constables and they sent the Beadles to all the Housekeepers there to know they would give to the Common Bonfire, and to report their answer to them, and to let them know their bounty would be sent for two to three dayes after, and I think most answered they would do as their Neighbours did.[468]

Building this bonfire constituted a public demonstration of affection towards the ruling monarch. It tallied with the objectives of loyal celebration both in terms of the event it marked, the birthday of James II, and in the form its preparations took. The latter, in particular, was highlighted by Morrice's retrospective emphasis on the efforts made to ensure it was built by means of 'a common purse'. Date allied with routine suggested a completely unexceptional, legitimate occasion.

And yet, Morrice's description of the episode concluded with a rather provocative general statement regarding the legality of public bonfires. He writes:

There was a Proclamation not long since forbidding all Bonefires &c upon publick occasions unlesse the King signified his further pleasure, by vertue whereof the Lord Mayor of the City sent out his Precepts to forbid all Bonefires in the City, and the Officers were very ready to see that obedience were paid to these precepts.[469]

Morrice's appraisal of the situation certainly tallies with other forms of evidence, with London's citizens banned from making bonfires to mark Gunpowder Treason Day the

468 Saturday 16 October, *Morrice*, III.262-3.

469 ibid, p.263.

following month on 5 November 1686.[470] By the following year the situation had further instensified, with bonfires prohibited on the king's birthday, 14 October, and on Gunpowder Treason Day.[471] The latter proclamation, as issued by the mayor, also cracked down on the much more genteel 'Practice of setting up Candles' in the windows of houses. In both instances, building bonfires and lighting illuminations were deemed to be an excuse for disorderly behaviour and, by inference, were categorised as politically oppositional. More worryingly, the observation of Gunpowder Treason Day, the annual celebration of national Protestant self determination, could be seen as a personal attack on the openly Catholic James.

This, perhaps, gets to the heart of the anxities that informed the attitudes of early modern governing institutions towards bonfires. Local communities had a high level of responsibility for collecting the necessary materials and constructing the bonfires. In theory, the processes of collection and assembly were conducted under the supervision of local law enforcement officers, but one wonders how effective the attempts to police these activities actually were. In spite of the prohibition of bonfires for the king's birthday and Gunpowder Treason Day in 1686 and 1687, the evidence suggests that Londoners continued to celebrate both occasions.[472] I would argue that the material and structural properties of the bonfires was the crux of the matter. Unlike the other forms of festival design we have considered in this section of the thesis, the means to produce bonfires were comparatively accessible: with a sufficient quantity of combustible matter, anyone could build one. The production of bonfires was arguably the most devolved form of festival activity associated with early modern urban celebrations, although one could make a similar claim for crackers and squibs, the least technically sophisticated forms of firework.[473]

An episode from the reign of William III highlighted how the communal construction of bonfires could be hijacked to explicitly politically subversive ends, when on the night of

470 Harris, *Revolution*, p.209.

471 COL/CC/01/01/048, r.320-v.320, 13 October 1686; COL/CC/01/01/048, v.320, 1 November 1686.

472 Harris, Revolution, pp.208-10, 293.

473 Tierney, 'Playing with Fire', pp.26-28. At present we know very little about the retail of fireworks in early modern Europe, but it would seem that popular devices, such as crackers and squibs, were, indeed, commercially available. This subject deserves further consideration in the future, if only to shed more light on the fascinating subject of domestic provision and access to gunpowder.

10 June 1695 a group of Londoners celebrated the seventh birthday of the exiled Prince of Wales with a bonfire in Drury Lane – and a riot. As contemporary accounts from the Middlesex Sessions Papers showed, responses to the event were plural and fragmented. Witnesses were compelled to comment on what was a politically divisive event: a group of men choosing to observe the birth of the heir to the king, James II, who had been unceremoniously deposed six years earlier by William, the ruling monarch. With this in mind, the bonfire can be seen as a public manifestation of a political stance that was both oppositional and subversive.

The range of surviving witness statements – seven in all – means we can construct a satisfying narrative of the events of 10 June, which began with a bonfire. '[B]etween Nine & ten of the Clock', Thomas Att, apprentice, 'saw a Bonefire a making at 6 or 7 doors from the Dog Taverne'.[474] This Drury Lane hostelry was the focus of events, with its proprietor, Walter Riddle, remarking on a dinner held there by a group of men, which included two officers, Captains Salisbury and Porter, John Page and 'one or two other persons' who were 'strangers to him'.[475] The men 'then and there present…solemnly dranke a health to the prince of Wales, with drums beating, Trumpetts sounding and great huzas'.[476] Riddle continued by describing how the company then dispersed, with Porter and Page going 'out of the door into Drury Lane, but whether or noe they went to the Bonefire he doth not know, nor which way the rest of the Company went out'.[477]

Back out in the street, Att was accosted by a joiner, 'whose name he knows not although he knowes his person', by whom he was 'knock't downe twice' after refusing to drink a toast to the exiled Prince of Wales.[478] William Stout, bit-maker, had a similar experience, recalling 'Comeing by the Dogg Taverne' where he noticed 'two p[er]sons standing at the doore there one whereof had a quart pott in his hand and the other a Red coate on (whome he took therefore to be an Officer)'.[479] Like Att, Stout was stopped by these

474 LMA, MJ/SP/1695/07/050.

475 LMA, MJ/SP/1695/07/049.

476 ibid.

477 ibid.

478 LMA, MJ/SP/1695/07/050.

479 LMA, MJ/SP/1695/07/051.

men, both strangers to him, and ordered to 'drinke the prince of Wales's health'.[480] Refusing, Stout was berated by the officer, who 'cry'd Dam him Slapp him or strip him or words to those effect'. Unsurprisingly he 'made hast and gott away'.[481]

Threat and barely contained violence also coloured statements made by William Fford, glazier, and his servant, Stephen Smith. While Fford remarked upon the toasts drank and the 'great Huzzahs' made by the 'people there assembled' around the bonfire, Smith testified to the rowdiness of th crowd, who '[cried] up King James and the Prince of Wales'.[482] When other men present objected, 'crying up King William, [the first] party drew upon them and approached them with their swords'.[483] The testament of John Page, apprentice, was more measured, merely commenting on the 'drinking of healths and agreeable hubbub'.[484] Significantly, his evidence conflicted with Riddle's narrative: where Page described his position evasively ('he happened to be present at the Bonefire neare the Dogg Taverne'), Riddle placed him squarely in the company of those solemnly toasting the Prince of Wales's health.[485] As the attending magistrate, Ralph Marshall, noted in the margin, Page 'is a Roman therefore may forgitt a little'.[486]

Where Page attempted to keep in the shadows, Thomas Stibbs, tallow chandler and former constable, was keen to impress on Magistrate Marshall his singularly dramatic role in proceedings. Stibbs became involved at 'about Ten or Eleaven of the Clock in the Evening' after hearing the 'noyse of Drums and Trumpetts and great huzaing' and seeing the bonfire from his door.[487] Ascertaining that both were 'upon the Occasion of it's [sic.] being the prince of Wales birthday', he sent for the beadle and constables, before making his way down to the Dogg Taverne in his night Gowne takeing his Constables Staffe in his hand having formerly Executed that Office'.[488] Once there, he found the

480 ibid.
481 ibid.
482 LMA, MJ/SP/1695/07/051.
483 ibid.
484 LMA, MJ/SP/1695/07/047.
485 LMA, MJ/SP/1695/07/049.
486 LMA, MJ/SP/1695/07/047.
487 LMA, MJ/SP/1695/07/048.
488 ibid.

'doores shutt and the mob breaking the windows and threatening to pull downe the house':

…whereupon this Informant together with the said constables and others their assistants went into the said Taverne and there by good words and perswasions prevailed with him to goo [sic.] to the horshoo Taverne with him to drinke King Williams health, which he begane to them upon his Knees, calling for severall Gallons of sack for them to pledge him'.[489]

Events in Drury Lane in 1695 preempts some of the issues considered in Section II of this thesis, which will consider the impact events had as realised performances. However, the bonfire's preparation, as a public activity, also highlights key issues that matter to this section and the dissertation as a whole. All the events outlined above may in some way be related to efforts made to mark a significant occasion: a bonfire was built, then lit, bringing together people, while the use of music, in the form of trumpets and drums, further conveyed that something special was in the process of happening. These deliberately deployed strategies actively transformed Drury Lane by making designed incursions into the urban environment, changing it physically, and altering how people related to a known place. (All the witnesses cited above lived locally.)

On this occasion, political and designed experience were intimately linked to the bonfire's materiality. First, the bonfire was a three-dimensional entity that was constructed in public view, and took up room in a previously unoccupied space. Second, it provided an unexpected source of heat and light. Third, for some of the individuals involved, it brought riot and unrest onto their front doorsteps. In combination, these factors precipitated an exciting, experiential drama: the bonfire assembled a crowd; stopped passersby in their tracks; drew attention to itself and the significant date it marked; and treated those who flocked around it to a deliberately heightened sensory experience. In short, this bonfire actively transformed how people experienced their city.

489 ibid.

**Conclusion:**

Bonfires were an integral part of early modern celebrations. With their combination of heat and light, they performed the opposition between light and dark, heat and cold, that had a special piquancy in the context of early modern nighttime. The bonfires built for major celebrations constituted major feats of engineering, with some standing two or three stories high. As temporary incursions into the urban environment, these bonfires had a hugely transformative effect, drastically altering how people experienced their city. As the most devolved form of production considered in this dissertation, bonfires were expected to be the responsibility of local communities, but were in some instances coerced or, as in the case of Drury Lane, inflicted on unsuspecting householders. Unlike the construction of occasional architecture or firework displays, bonfires were entirely built in public view, with the spectacular dimension of their preparation proclaiming that something out of the ordinary was about to happen.

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**Section I**

**Conclusion**

Introducing the division between design and scheduling is by no means intended to suggest these were unrelated practices. Rather, the activities associated with design and scheduling were intimately linked. In teasing out the relationship between the two, it is impossible to avoid the key issue of control. The idea of planning an event on the scale of the *entrée* invariably prompts the question of who was in control. In the months beforehand, a range of personnel contributed to the realisation of the finished product or performance. These contributions were various, with bureaucrats, designers and makers having input into an occasion's aesthetic and ideological content.

## Section II:

## Performance

### Introduction: Pleasure Postponed in April 1685

On the evening of Thursday 23 April 1685, a magnificent firework display was expected to take place on the River Thames in front of Whitehall. A series of barges moored in the middle of the river provided a floating stage for hundreds of pyrotechnical devices, elaborate props and scenery that had been made for the display, the culmination of daylong celebrations of the coronation of James II and his consort Mary of Modena.

In common with other major, state-funded firework displays, its organisation had been the responsibility of the government Office of Ordnance, under the supervision of Major, later Sir, Martin Beckman. By any measure, it was a big project, and cost the Ordnance an estimated £779 18s 10d, which made it one of the most expensive firework displays witnessed by late seventeenth-century London, second only to expenditure on fireworks for of the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, which had cost the astronomical sum of £1110 17s 00d.[490] In the two months before the performance, thirty-two named personnel worked alongside countless anonymous labourers to produce the fireworks and elaborate scenic apparatus, with the proviso that each separate component would be in the right place at the right time.

And yet, this display did not happen on 23 April. In spite of the Ordnance's best-laid plans, it was postponed until the following day, Friday 24 April 1685. Francis Sandford, in his exhaustive account of the coronation, offered this rather mundane explanation for the deferral:

…for the Conclusion of the Solemnity, most Excellent Fireworks were prepared upon the River of Thames, over against Whitehal, for the Entertainment of their MAJESTIES and

490 Both estimates are the sum total of figures cited in Office of Ordnance papers. Strenuous effort has been made to take account of all amounts cited in the relevant documentation, but, as stated, these can only ever be estimates, as the figures recorded may only provide a partial account of total monies spent.

the Court; which, by reason of the great Fatigue of the Day, were deferred till the next Evening.[491]

The occasion, in short, was thrown off course by events beyond the control of the people responsible for the months of careful planning and preparation that had preceded it. This example illustrates the crucial distinction between celebration, as a controlled and idealised set of activities, and its practical realisation as a working performance. In theory, the fireworks were intended to provide a fitting conclusion to daylong festivities on Coronation Day. In practice, narrative clarity was disrupted by an unexpectedly prolonged gap between one part of the celebration, the fireworks, and the other events that were part of the coronation.

**Countdown to Celebration: February to April 1685**

In the two months before the display, preparations were conducted with care and rigour, as reflected by the event's high cost and the number and diversity of the personnel involved. The project was supervised by an experienced manager, Martin Beckman, an employee of the Office of Ordnance since 1660, and widely considered to be a safe pair of hands.[492] As we have seen, Beckman was best known as a military and artillery engineer, but he was also celebrated for his work with display fireworks. In 1688, he produced the fireworks to celebrate the birth of a son and heir to James II, which so delighted the king that he was awarded sole rights 'of prints in mezzo tinto.'[493]

Although we can only read between the lines when trying to establish how smoothly the production of the coronation display went, it is worth noting that the fireworks and scenic apparatus appeared to have been in situ before 23 April. Why else would expenses for the event have included £07 19s 00d paid to Mr Locke in return for '73yds of Black and Green Oyle Cloth to cover the Fireworks from Raine'?[494] This was hardly unusual. Evidence of other contemporary firework displays suggests that component parts were on site well in advance of an event. In most cases, however, it isn't possible

491 Francis Sandford, *The History of the Coronation of James II,* p.124.

492 CSPD, 1660-1661, p.101.

493 CSPD, June 1687-February 1689, p.60; CSPD, June 1687-February 1689, p.248.

494 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-30, 2 April 1685 [n.p.].

to establish how far in advance, but sources indicate that that fireworks were in put in place in the days before a performance, while display apparatus was installed over longer periods of time.

In 1668, for example, William Salmon received payment for the damage done to his 'lighter', a type of flat-bottomed barge, when it was used during celebrations for Catherine of Braganza's birthday. Salmon was responsible for transporting 'severall fireworks' from Tower Wharf and for 'lying' with 'the same…before Whitehall 3 dayes for wh[ic]h with the damage accrewd to his said lighter by ffiring the same he us allowed the sum[m]e of 02:03:06.'[495] In 1688, John Pagett, bargeman, was paid the total sum of £12 15s 00d for providing a barge 'to lay platforms upon' for a fireworks display to celebrate the birth of the Prince of Wales. The Ordnance commissioned Pagget's barge from 18 June 1688, a full month before the display's performance on the evening of 17 July.[496] While in 1697, as part of celebration of the Peace of Ryswick, £5 18s 00d was given to 'sev[era]ll men watching at night to secure the fireworkes & everything thereunto belonging'.[497]

In 1685, installation was but the tip of the iceberg, the final stage in a series of preparations that had begun almost two months earlier, when the first payment of £01 04s 00d was made to an unknown number of labourers on 29 February 1684/85. [498] Establishing what happened in the weeks and, indeed, months before the performance of the fireworks provides the clearest indication of the extent to which postponement of the event issued a challenge to the ideals encapsulated by the ideas of routine and rigorous preparation.

At around the same time as payment of the first labour bill, ingredients for the manufacture of pyrotechnical devices were brought into the stores, when Thomas Amy received £84 18s 00d on 5 March 1684/85 for providing many of the substances associated with making early modern fireworks: 'oyle of spice', linseed oil, 'Spiritt of Wine rectif[ied]', 'oyle of Peeter', turpentine, dried frankincense, antimony,

495 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-9, December 1668 [n.p.].

496 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-36, June 1689 [n.p.].

497 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-55, f.38.

498 N.R.A., London, W/0 51-30, 16 May 1685 [n.p.].

camphor, alum, 'arrum pigmenum, and 'Castile sope'- along with containers in a variety of different shapes, sizes and materials.[499] On 6 March 1684/85, Thomas Smith, clerk to Thomas Gardner, clerk of deliveries, delivered 'double refin'd saltpetre' to Beckman, then in the midst of making the fireworks at the Laboratory in Woolwich.[500] On the same date, John Reade, clerk to the Ordnance's surveyor-general, Sir Bernard de Gomme was paid unspecified expenses for going to Woolwich to weigh saltpetre.[501] A third man, Samuel Criche, another of de Gomme's clerks, received 10s for going to Woolwich to deliver additional quantities of saltpetre on a later, though unspecified date in March 1685.[502]

Throughout the preparatory stages, regular payments were made to the event's core team: its gunners, carpenters and labourers.[503] The former were responsible for making pyrotechnic devices, while the latter built most of the display's large-format props and scenery. Other personnel were employed to supplement this basic workforce, with payments made to metalworkers, a joiner, a turner and at least one painter.[504]

During these months, the Ordnance also brought in other kinds of hardware to complete the fireworks, increasing the number of people involved in the execution of the display and extending its networks of production and consumption out far beyond the core group of named individuals. On 21 March, 'Balloons' were bought from an unidentified smith, along with 'great Mortarp[e]ices & Triumph Gunns', with a total cost of £16 00s 02d.[505] On 27 March, the Ordnance paid £03 19s 00d for '19 Tubbes for the waterworks', while Mr Burbridge supplied 'Timber deale & nailes' for the 'Rockett chests' at a cost of £11 16s 08d.[506] On 1 April, Mr Clarke, 'the wood merchant', was paid £21 04s 00d for 'Firewood, Billitts & Rocket Staves'.[507] In April, Mr Waterman was paid

499 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-29, 5 March 1684/5 [n.p.].
500 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-29, 6 March 1684/5 [n.p.].
501 ibid.
502 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-29, March 1684/5 [n.p.]
503 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-30, 29 February 1685-16 May 1685 [n.p.]
504 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-30, 18 March 1684/5; 21 March 1684/5; 27 March 1684/5; 2 April 1685 [n.p.]
505 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-30, 21 March 1684/5 [n.p.].
506 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-30, 27 March 1684/5 [n.p.].
507 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-30, 1 April 1685 [n.p.].

the considerable sum of £61 15s 09d for 'severall Boxes, Balloons and Trunks'.[508] It is also possible that Waterman provided the wooden moulds that were used to 'roll' paper tubes for aerial rockets.[509]

All in all, the coronation firework display appeared to have been an extremely well organised event that fulfilled the ideals of preparation, as outlined in Section I of this thesis. Planning for the event had begun months in advance. Supplies had entered the Ordnance stores; artillery experts made the fireworks, and a wide range of additional personnel were employed to produce the occasion's large-format display apparatus. Moreover, its project manager, Martin Beckman, was experienced in coordinating this kind of high-profile pyrotechnic spectacle. In this role, he supervised the design and production of the various elements that made up the firework display; and took ultimate responsibility for the pyrotechnical devices and large-format display apparatus being in situ before Coronation Day.

And yet, no amount of planning could prepare against royal caprice, with the king and queen's all too human fatigue proving an insurmountable barrier on this occasion. The narrative begun two months before, with the payment of anonymous labourers on 29 February 1684 (OS), characterised by organisation, coordination and, above all, control, had been interrupted at the last possible moment by a contingency that proved to be beyond the capabilities of those in charge. In the grand scheme of things, the reason given for the postponement of the firework display in 1685 was inconsequential. However, this case study does illustrate how the performance of festival was beset by unexpected and often uncontrollable elements.

This section will consider some of the factors that inhibited the performance of festival, thereby unravelling the rhetoric of order and control that underpinned both the preparations made before an event and, as we will see in the final part of this thesis, its representation in printed images and festival books. Investigating factors such as weather, accidents and injuries and the spectator's experience contributes to an understanding of how and why festival's narrative could be interrupted and, more

508 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-30, 2 April 1685 [n.p.].

509 See: Buchanan, 'Making Fireworks', p.154; Babington, *Pyrotechnia*, p.4; *Simienowicz 1729*, p.139.

importantly, the implications this had for the prestige of the event and the social and political ideals that it sought actively to promote.

**Weather**

John Brewer's analysis of fireworks in Green Park to mark the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle illustrates the extent to which bad weather could interrupt a celebration's intended narrative, and precipitate a series of events that seriously discredited the ideals it sought to promote. **(Fig.28.)** In 1749, the dignified commemoration of an important peace treaty was transformed into out and out farce, which undermined the prestige of George II's kingship. Brewer's text is worth quoting at length:

> At first many of the fireworks, dampened by the weather, fizzled and refused to light; there were longeurs during which the crowd grew restless; Servandoni and the Duke of Montagu began a public fight, and when the Italian drew his sword he was arrested. As the men whose task it was to light the firework grew impatient, they became careless and set one of the pavilions alight. Smoke and smouldering embers soon were replaced by flames: there was a large conflagration as the pavilion was burnt to the ground.[510]

Admittedly, no seventeenth or early eighteenth-century firework display in London made such a drama of disaster. Nevertheless, 1749 demonstrated the extent to which unfavourable weather conditions could impact on spectacle's prestige, compromising the reputations of the people involved in its organisation and, more importantly, challenging the individuals or ideologies being celebrated.

In 1661, on the eve of Charles II's Coronation Day, also scheduled on 23 April, Samuel Pepys and his wife had congregated at their friend Mr Bowyer's house 'expecting to see the fire-works, but they were not performed to-night.'[511] Instead, as with the coronation of James II in 1685, the firework display took place on the following evening. In the event, Pepys did not even manage to witness this belated display, as after the excitement of the coronation, he settled himself at home in Seething Lane to 'write down these three days' diary', when:

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510 John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: HarperCollins, 1997), p.27.

511 Tuesday 23 April 1661, *Pepys*, ii.86-87.

…while I am about it, I hear the noise of the chambers and the other things of the Fireworks, which are now playing upon the Thames before the King, and I wish myself with them, being sorry not to see them.[512]

In both instances, Pepys's engagement with the event was defined by the passing of time, as he first anticipated the fireworks on the night of the coronation, and then, on the following evening, longed to see, as well as hear, their postponed performance. In many ways, Pepys was an exceptional witness, proffering a level of enthusiasm and effusive detail in describing his own emotional responsiveness. This, perhaps, is one of the most interesting challenges associated with this kind of material, as one endeavours to evaluate the significance of emotional response above and beyond generic cries of acclamation and joy. Arguably, exacting favourable spectator response was one of festival's principal design imperatives, as it was devised to impress, overawe and, in a sense, create an audience that was receptive to the ideological agendas that led to its commission, design and execution.

In 1685, the fireworks had been postponed as a mark of respect in deference to the king and queen's fatigue. In 1661, the issue was the weather and, more specifically, the storm that inhibited proceedings. Any comparison of these two events must acknowledge the role that was played by perception and interpretation. Commentators attempted to tease out, or, in some instances, suppress, the meaningfulness of the episodes they tried to describe. In Sandford's treatment of the fireworks deferred after James II's coronation, for example, the new monarch's logical, explicable tiredness was effectively buried in the footnotes.

By comparison, Elias Ashmole's *Narrative of the Coronation of Charles II* dwelt on the curiousness of what actually transpired in 1661:

It is a thing very memorable, that, towards the end of Diner-time (although all the former part of the day, and also the preceding day, in which the King made his Cavalcade through London were the only fair days, that we enjoyed of many before and after) it began to Thunder and Lighten very smartly.[513]

512 Wednesday 24 April 1661, *Pepys*, ii.88.

513 Elias Ashmole, *A Brief Narrative of his Majesties Solemn Coronation with his Magnificent Proceeding, and Royal Feast in Westminster-Hall [by E. Ashmole]* (London, 1662), p.190.

That English weather was inclement wasn't the issue. Instead, the emphasis was on the speed with which meteorological conditions had changed. Out in the 'real world', other commentators also remarked upon the remarkable quality of the weather on Coronation Day. Ralph Josselin, the vicar at Earls Colne in Essex, documented the day in his diary:

> Dry. To serve the pompous shew, and coronation at London. on which day. 23 I baptized Elizabeth Eldred, the aire echoed with cannon shot. Towards night it lightned and thundered and rain'd a very great Tempest. It began London wards. God shott of his warring pieces.[514]

Notably, Pepys concurred with this version of events, choosing to stress the speed with which the weather had changed, but also noting that the good weather had held until *after* Charles had been crowned:

> And strange it is to think that these two days have held up fair till now that all is done, and the King gone out of the Hall; and then it fell a-raining and thundering and lightening as I have not seen it do for some years: which people did take great notice of; God's blessing of the work of these two days, which is a foolery to take too much notice of such things.[515]

That three Englishmen fixated on the weather was hardly exceptional. And yet, it is interesting to note that in all three accounts, the success of the event was explicitly tied to the quality of the weather. To some extent, this was a practical matter. Then as now, rain put a dampener on an occasion: damp participants, soggy scenic apparatus and wet spectators were not the best recipe for universal acclamation and joy. It is also significant that fireworks only worked under particular meteorological conditions. Gunpowder is noted for being 'very hygroscopic or moisture-absorbent', meaning that it is liable to deteriorate if kept in a damp cellar or ship's hold.[516] It was more than likely, therefore, that the extreme weather on Coronation Day would have rendered the fireworks entirely useless.

514 23 April 1661, *The Diary of Ralph Josselin*, ed. Alan Macfarlane (Oxford: The British Academy, 1976), p.478.

515 Tuesday 23 April 1661, *Pepys*, ii.87.

516 Brenda Buchanan, 'Making Fireworks', p.150.

That the fireworks were deferred, and not destroyed, can, in part, be attributed to special measures taken by the Office of Ordnance to protect the fireworks from rain and damp. By inference, these preparations sought to protect the occasion from a variable that, though hardly unexpected, was unpredictable, and had the real potential to undermine the prestige of the celebration and the ideals enshrined in it. Containers were bought to store the ingredients used to make explosive compositions. Oak barrels were ordered to store gunpowder, alongside 'hogsheads', deal boxes, caskets, 'rundletts' and bottles in glass, tin and stone. Moreover, as noted above, '73 yards of Black and Green Oyle Cloth' were purchased in April 1685 to protect the finished fireworks from the rain, once they had been installed in the barges on the Thames in front of Whitehall.[517]

Poor, changeable weather provided a solid, practical explanation for postponing the fireworks on Coronation Day 1661. And yet, this level of analysis detracts from the wonder that characterised Ashmole, Pepys and Josselin's individual responses to the weather. It is this sense of the rarity of the situation ('And strange it is to think…') which makes their descriptions function at a level beyond the purely documentary. Instead, in each instance, weather was treated as if it had been specially appointed, with the rapid change from fine conditions to rain, thunder and lightning interpreted as a mark of divine approbation.

Antony Wood identified a similar relationship between weather and providence in his account of the heavy rain that marred the Moroccan ambassador's visit to Oxford in 1682:

> In the afternoon about 12 and 1 the sky was most prodigiously darkened. A great storme of wind came, which was so circular that it blew all the dust in the street up in the aire that you could not see any houses; afterwards followed a short shore of rain. A hurricane; this was never known in the memory of man. A prodigious hericane that broke bows and arms of trees; blew of thatch; and did a great deal of harme in the country.[518]

517 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-30, 2 April 1685 [n.p.].

518 Anthony Wood, *Life and Times of Anthony Wood, antiquary, of Oxford 1632-1695, described by himself. Collected from his Diaries and Other Papers by Andrew Clark*, 5 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1900), iii.17.

Wood's stress on bad weather in his description invested the event with portentous undertones. Emphasis was placed on the exceptionality of the weather ('…this was never known in the memory of man…') and speed with which meteorological conditions deteriorated, to once again produce a level of meaningfulness that went beyond the objective. As with the positive treatment of Coronation Day in 1661, bad weather in Oxford in 1682 was indicative of more than bad luck.

That weather was held to be meaningful attested to the providential systems of belief that were prevalent in early modern Europe. Seemingly random events were sifted for hidden, often divine, meanings, as people sought to understand the inexplicable aspects of their environment.[519] With reference to special occasions, weather was seen to provide commentary from a higher power on the success of the event. Fine weather spoke well of its auspiciousness, while poor conditions, such as those witnessed at Oxford in 1682, augured a less fortunate future. It is worth noting, however, both Pepys and Ashmole remarked that the storm on Coronation Day 1661 was only regarded as portentous by less discerning spectators, suggesting that this mode of interpretation was seen in some quarters as outmoded and irrelevant.[520]

Tellingly, fireworks were routinely compared to the sound and light effects produced by thunder and lightning. In Ashmole's *Brief Narrative*, thunder and lightning were employed to rhetorical effect in order to 'stage manage' the challenging weather conditions that had afflicted Coronation Day in 1661. This strategy was not without risk. The meaning of thunder and lightning was polysemous: depending on the context, it could be read alternately as signifying divine providence or wrath.[521] The case of an unfortunate man and his son, struck by lightning whilst ploughing, highlighted the extent to which extreme weather conditions were seen as acts of God. The coroner's verdict on cause of death was telling: the 'immediate providence of Almighty God.'[522]

519 See, for example: William E. Burns, *An Age of Wonders: Prodigies, Politics and Providence in England 1657-1727* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

520 Ashmole, *Brief Narrative*, p.190; Tuesday 23 April 1661, *Pepys*, ii.87.

521 S.K. Heninger, Jr., *A Handbook of Renaissance Meteorology: with particular reference to Elizabethan and Jacobean Literature* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1960), pp.84—6.

522 Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Belief in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-century England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), p.84.

Weather, therefore, had both practical and symbolic significance in relation to the prestige of festival events. Bad weather could lead to a celebration being postponed, as in the fireworks for the coronation of Charles II, or completely wash it out, as in the case of the Moroccan ambassador's visit to Oxford. In both instances, the prestige of the occasion was compromised by extreme weather conditions, a factor that was indubitably beyond the control of even the most prepared organising committee. Weather, good or bad, was deemed to be an act of god, and as such, was subjected to providential interpretations. In the context of major state celebrations, such as the coronation, inclement weather could be read as a divine judgement on the legitimacy of the occasion and its ideals. However, as the example of the coronation of James II showed, weather, in this case thunder and lightning, could be sifted to be a sign both of divine wrath and divine approbation.

**Accidents and Injuries**

Early modern celebration could be a life or death situation. In March 1688/89, the Office of Ordnance received a bill from Thomas Seele, 'Chiurgeon to his Ma[jest]ies Tower Garrison', to cover the cost of 'Worke & Cures performed by him and his Assistants upon the sev[era]ll persons concerned about the fireworks performed before Whitehall on 3rd June 1688'. The preamble wasn't entirely correct: the display in question, a celebration of the birth of the Prince of Wales on 10 June 1688, did not actually happen until 17 July. However, quibbling aside, we do know that eleven men and one woman sustained injuries that were related in some way to the firework display, and that these individuals required nursing for between three and ten weeks, with the cost of care directly linked to the length of the patient's recuperation.[523]

Evidence of accidents and injuries certainly revealed a side of the event that was absent from other contemporary reactions. Evelyn, who witnessed the display 'to great advantage' from the house of his friend and fellow diarist Pepys, speculated on its cost by remarking that the fireworks, 'were very fine, & had some thousands of pounds about the pyramids & statues & co: but were spent too soone, for so long a preparation.'

523 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/38, 20 March 1688/89 [n.p.].

Seele's medical bills revealed the human cost of a major state-funded celebration. They attested to traumatic experiences, and the uncontrollable, unpredictable and unexpected factors that challenged the narrative of preparedness and stability that was carefully honed in the months leading up to the display. They were the occasion's hidden history: the parts of the story that weren't actually meant to happen or, which were suppressed once a celebration was commemorated in a printed text or image.

In 1688, the majority of men affected were gunners in the Office of Ordnance. These men, George Browne, William Wood, George Guy, Thomas Dallark, Thomas Haxell and Thomas Rooke, were employed to make and test artillery and pyrotechnic devices for the battlefield and celebrations. Tellingly, the men received medical care for longer than the other individuals affected, intimating that their injuries were of a more serious order. In total, Haxell was nursed for 10 weeks; Dallark for 7 weeks; Guy for 6 weeks; Rooke for between 5 and 6 weeks, and Wood for 5 weeks.[524] Even by the standards of the day, these men had a dangerous job.

The life and violent death of John Browne, gunner, provided additional evidence of the occupational hazards associated with the profession, which brought practitioners into contact with the volatile and explosive on a routine basis. Throughout the 1680s and 1690s, his widow, Margaret received regular payments of:

…the sum of five pounds for and in considerac[i]on of her late husbands lost life by breaking a hand grenade & for & towards her owne and childrens maintenance in pursuance of his Ma[jest]ies Warr[an]t of the 29 September 1681.[525]

That Browne was killed by 'breaking' a hand grenade, and not at a firework display, was but force of circumstance. De Hooghe's engraving of a similar celebration in Amsterdam for the coronation of William and Mary in 1689 was suggestive of just how close gunners got to pyrotechnical devices during displays. De Hooghe showed fireworks being launched from a boat on the water, with the men in charge of lighting the fireworks shown in the same vessel. We can only speculate, but the gunners and labourers employed in London in 1685, for the fireworks to celebrate the coronation of

524 ibid.

525 N.R.A, London, W/O 47/29, September 1684 [n.p.].

James II, and 1688, to celebrate the birth of the Prince of Wales, probably worked under similar conditions, as both displays had been staged on barges moored on the Thames in front of Whitehall. In both instances, the men in charge of detonating the pyrotechnical devices would have been at some distance from dry land and with no obvious escape route if something went seriously wrong.

In fact, many of the injuries sustained by the gunners in 1688 were consistent with the effects of being in the vicinity of an explosion. Browne had the skin blown off his head by a 'blast of powder'.[526] Two of the men accidentally broke 'fire-shott', which 'toare off all the flesh from the Inside' of Guy's hand and wounded Rooke 'upon his shoulder hand & Armes'.[527] Haxell had 'a large wound upon the Calfe of his Leg'. Wood had 'a Large wound upon his head and arm.'[528] At least one of the men described as a gunner appeared to have been harmed during active military service, and not during a firework display, as Dallark was treated for an 'ague and feavour', probably malaria, contracted while he was posted in Sheerness, Kent.[529]

The other men injured in connection with the fireworks in 1688 were carpenters, like Edward Saxby and Robert Oliver, or provided some manner of unspecified supplementary labour. Both carpenters were injured during the installation or removal of the occasion's scenic apparatus: Saxby was crushed when a large chest fell on top of him (this was possibly one of the chests designed to hold the display's rockets); and Oliver lost part of his middle finger after a mortar-piece was dropped on it.[530] The remaining men, John Suite and Thomas ffisher, were blown overboard during the display, which implied that like the gunners, they were stationed on the barges near to the fireworks during the performance.[531]

Mrs Berry, as the occasion's only female victim, is a puzzle. We know nothing about her beyond Seele's brief account of her injuries, which described how she was, 'wounded

526 N.R.A., London, W/O 51/38, 30 July 1685 [n.p.].

527 ibid.

528 ibid.

529 ibid.

530 ibid.

531 ibid.

upon her head, and chin which divided an Artree and Caused a great flux of blood, [and] was bruised allso on her shoulder and armes.' As a result, Berry received 'Externall and Internall Medicines' over a period of three weeks, costing the Ordnance the relatively modest sum of £01 10s 00d.[532] As a woman, it was highly unlikely that she had been involved in the production of the display. Only one woman, Mrs Elizabeth Hudson, was on record as a contributor to a firework display in London, when in 1685 she provided a quantity of 'tinn-file' to embellish the occasion's scenic apparatus.[533]

In all likelihood, Mrs Berry was an innocent bystander, who'd watched the spectacle from a boat and had the misfortune of being hit by one of the display's fireworks. In Sir James Thornhill's engraving of a later event, a firework display to celebrate the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, groups of spectators of both sexes were shown in small boats at some proximity to the display platform. **(Fig.33.)** Although Thornhill's image was a day-lit scene, documenting finishing touches being put to the event, it can be allied with the Dutch traveller William Schellink's account of the crowds of people that assembled in boats to row back and forth along the Thames to secure the best vantage point during celebrations on the river.[534]

In John Aubrey's retrospective account of the 1685 coronation fireworks, spectators were, once again, located on boats that were close to the display apparatus. Here, however, the occasion was rendered with apocalyptic relish:

> Upon Saint Mark's day, after the Coronation of James II, were prepared stately fire-works on the Thames: it happened that they took fire altogether, and it was so dreadful, that several spectators leap'd into the River choosing rather to be drown'd than burn'd.[535]

As in the extrapolation of meaning from poor weather on Charles II's Coronation Day in 1661, Aubrey's version of this firework display had barely contained providential undertones, as the failure of some of the occasion's pyrotechnical devices was seen to foreshadow the overthrow and exile of James II in 1688. The horrific choice between

532 ibid.

533 N.R.A., London, 51/30, 2 April 1685 [n.p.].

534 William Schellink, *Journal of William Schellink's Travels*, p.83.

535 John Aubrey, *Miscellanies upon the following subjects collated by J. Aubrey, Esq*. (London: Edward Castle, 1696), p.40-1.

drowning and burning provided an apt commentary on the unstable, inauspicious end to James's reign just over three years after his glorious- and expensive- coronation. Aubrey made additional reference to another incident from the same occasion – the moment when the crown threatened to topple off James's head during the coronation ceremony – which was also treated as a portent of the shortness and instability of his reign.[536]

Significantly, Aubrey's brief account of the coronation fireworks amounted to more than literary hyperbole. As in 1688, something had, indeed, gone very wrong, with the result that a number of the men involved were injured. In July 1685, Adam Ball, messenger, was reimbursed for money he had paid, 'for Provisions & Lodgings of the respective Gunners & persons Burnt & hurt in Exercis[i]on of their dutys at the Fireworks upon the Solemnity of his Ma[jest]ies Coronation.'[537] Notably, Ball did not specify the professional backgrounds of the men affected, making, instead, a more general reference to 'Gunners & persons Burnt'. Based on the events of July 1688, however, it would seem likely that the majority of the personnel affected in 1685 were gunners, carpenters or labourers. This judgement also tallies with the profile of labour for the event in its entirety, where these three groups made up its core workforce.

Ball's bill accounted for the injuries sustained by six men: Christopher Parrett, Thomas Lowe, Thomas Browne, John Cheaveall, John Peterson and Samuel Farebrother. All six men required nursing, board and lodging over periods that lasted between 30 and 59 days and which cost the Ordnance a total of £17 16s 00d.[538] Unlike Seele, a man with medical training, Ball gave few details of the types of injuries sustained. Nevertheless, it is possible to make some cursory statements on how seriously the men were hurt by taking consideration of factors such as the length of time an individual required nursing and the total cost of his care. It seems logical, therefore, that Peterson and Farebrother were in the most critical condition, as they received continuous nursing from 15 May until 12 July, a total of 59 days, which was 15 days longer than any other patient.[539] It is also worth noting that, unlike the other men, Cheaveall was in the care of a single

536 Aubrey, *Miscellanies*, 60-1.

537 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-30, 30 July 1685 [n.p.]

538 ibid.

539 ibid.

individual, Thomas Beezeley, throughout his recuperation from 15 May until 27 June, implying that it was neither wise nor safe to move him until his recuperation was complete.

Little can be said regarding those who administered this care, but we do know that six men and one woman received money from the Office of Ordnance for services rendered. Edward Plummer was paid a total of £04 08s 00d for 'Lodgings, Provisions, Nurses & co' for Parret and Lowe.[540] Beezeley received £02 10s 00d for 'the like service' for his care of Cheaveall; Robert Herrod £01 08s 00d for care of Peterson and Farebrother; Thomas Fortis £03 04s 00d, again for care of Peterson and Farebrother; Thomas Phillipps £01 00s 00d for care of Parrett and Lowe; Richard Phillipps £00 10s 00d for sole care of Lowe, while Mary Smith, the only named woman, received £02 05s 00d for care of Browne.[541] From the wording of the document, 'Lodgings, Provisions, Nurses & co', it would seem that the men and Mary Smith were responsible for overseeing a larger team of people, hired to tend to the needs of the injured men. It is also worth noting that each of the people involved in the provision of nursing applied for a higher rate of payment than they eventually received. Although by no means conclusive, this would suggest that the Office of Ordnance suspected those employed as carers of charging fees that were in excess of the going rate.

Events in 1684 suggested a different type of deliberate 'accident': sabotage. The Office of Ordnance prepared a firework display as part of celebrations for the birthday of Catherine of Braganza on 15 November. As in his account of the fireworks for the birth of the Prince of Wales in 1688, Evelyn described the occasion in glowing terms:

Being the Queenes Birth-day, there was such fireworks upon the Thames before White-hall, with pageants of Castles, Forts and other devices of Gyrandoles, Serpents, The King & Queens Armes & mottos, all represented in fire, as had not ben seene in any age remembred here: but that which was most remarkable was the several fires & skirmishes in the very water, which actually moved a long way, burning under the water, & now and then appearing above it, giving reports like Muskets & Cannon, with Granados & innumerable other devices: It is said this sole Triumph cost 1500 pounds: which was concluded with a Ball, where all the young Ladys and Gallants daunced in the

540 ibid.

541 ibid.

greate Hall: the Court had not ben seene so brave & rich in apparel since his Majesties restauration.[542]

However, events in the immediate aftermath of the firework display put a very different gloss on proceedings. From the outside –Evelyn's view of the fireworks as they were performed upon the River Thames – the occasion had seemed like a total success. Yet, inside the Office of Ordnance, the episode was more complicated. As we saw in Section I, Chapter 2, two of the Office of Ordnance's firemasters, John Christopher Woolferman and Mr Nelson, were effectively accused of industrial sabotage and 'suspended from their Employment untill such time as they have discovered w[ha]t they knowe touching ye abuse offered to Capt[ain] de Ruiis his Composic[i]on of the ffort ffires in ye design of his Ma[jestie]s Crowne & Character'.[543]

Woolferman and Nelson were suspended on 18 November, a mere three days after the performance of the firework display, which provides the strongest indication of just how seriously the matter was taken. The two firemasters were effectively accused of denigrating two symbols associated with royal dignity, the king's crown and his cipher ('Character'), and by inference, the most important ideals being invested in the occasion. Frustratingly, the Ordnance papers included no further mention of the incident, so it is not possible to establish how the episode was concluded. However, even the suspicion of wrongdoing clearly illustrates the anxiety that attended ideologically sensitive symbols being brought into close contact with volatile explosives.

It is worth noting, too, that celebrations for Catherine's birthday in 1684 took place at a moment of heightened political sensitivity. This also offers explanation for why so much effort and money were put into organising a firework display to follow a court ball. Preparations for the fireworks had begun by 4 June 1684, when the first payment of 16s 01d was made to Thomas Sanford, ironmonger, while the event itself cost an estimated £491 01s 01d, an extraordinary amount for this type of celebration.[544] Arguably, the event's wider contexts were the Tory Reaction to the Exclusion Crisis (1679-81), the

542 Evelyn, 15 November 1684, iv.395. See also, Luttrell, 15 November 1684, i.320.

543 N.R.A., London, W/O 47-14, 18 November 1684 [n.p.]

544 N.R.A., London, W/O 47/29, 4 June 1684-31 December 1684 [n.p.].

aftermath of the Rye House Plot (1683), a plan to assassinate Charles II, and the waves of loyalist celebration that had followed this period of intense political upheaval, with the latter including James, Duke of York's 'progress to security' in Scotland.[545] Elaborate festivities for Catherine's birthday could, therefore, be viewed as a deliberate attempt to capitalise on loyal feeling, and reassert the inviolability and magnificence of royal power.

Injuries and accidents, like poor weather, were unexpected, uncontrollable factors that could not be prepared against. Again, they were examples of something that had happened during a performance that undermined the aspirations and ideals that had been invested in the event during the period of rigorous preparation, and which were subsequently re-invested in the occasion during the process of representation. As Aubrey's retrospective meditation on the fireworks for the coronation of James II also showed, the human cost of festival was mined, like the weather, for its symbolic and portentous implications. While, the tantalising insight into the aftermath of the fireworks for Catherine of Braganza's birthday in 1684 attested to the anxieties that surrounded this kind of event, with the proximity between destructive explosives and royal insignia suggesting a deliberate form of 'accident', sabotage.

**The Experience of Watching Festival**

Bad weather, accidents and injuries were only the most dramatic incidents that challenged the notion that festival could, to some extent, be centrally controlled by organising committees. The diverse ways in which people watched the same event demonstrated just how fragmentary early modern festival was. Spectator experience is invariably tied to the issue of visibility and comfort, as watching public festival in the late seventeenth-century could be a punishing experience. Ned Ward's account, in *The London Spy*, of being part of the crowd at the Lord Mayor's Day pageant in October 1699 was especially evocative and is worth quoting at some length:

Whilst my friend and I were thus staring at the spectators much more than the show, the pageants were advanced within our view, upon which such a tide of mob overflowed

545 Werrett, *Philosophical Fireworks*, p.130. For the wider context of the Tory Reaction, see Harris, *Restoration*, pp.260-328,

the place we stood in, that the women cried out for room, the children for breath, and every man, whether citizen or foreigner, strove very hard for his freedom. For my own part, I thought my entrails would have come out of my mouth, and I should have gone shitten home. I was so closely imprisoned between the bums and bellies of the multitude that I was almost squeezed as flat as a napkin in a press.[546]

*The London Spy* was published in eighteen monthly parts beginning in November 1698 and revelled in the seamier side of city life. In it, two friends, one a hardened Londoner, the other, a visitor from the countryside, explored the Capital's less salubrious quarters and popular entertainments, such as Bartholomew Fair or the lunatic asylum at Bedlam. With its frank depiction of the London crowd and the opportunistic cruelty of ordinary people, it was explicitly intended to amuse and entertain its literate, mostly male readership.[547]

Although the situation was mined for maximum comic effect, Ward's description was also suggestive of the experience of festival as fragmentary, at best, and subject to the exhilaration and inconvenience of being an individual in a very large crowd. To consider the matter from a design perspective, this short passage highlighted the very real problems that spectators negotiated in order to attend popular early modern public celebrations. Ward's protagonists attempted to get the best view of proceedings, but found their efforts hampered by both the size of the crowd and the suggestion that it contained numerous undesirable elements. Being a successful spectator, so to speak, involved securing a place that was at a reasonable height and which wasn't hemmed in on all sides by other bodies.

By far the easiest way to secure a better view was finding a good spot on or in an existing permanent structure. In 1661, Pepys and his wife had gone to their friend Mr Bowyer's house 'to stand upon the leads [the roof tiles] and below till it was late, expecting to see the fire-works' after the coronation of Charles II.[548] This was hardly exceptional. In 1688, Evelyn 'stood at Mr Pepys's Secretary to the Admiralty to greate advantage for the sight' of the fireworks to celebrate the birth of the Prince of Wales.

546 Ned Ward, *The London Spy*, ed. by Paul Hyland (East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1993), pp.222-223.

547 James Sambrook, 'Ward, Edward [Ned] (1667–1731)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, online edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Sept 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28682 [accessed 6 July 2010].

548 Tuesday 23 April 1661, *Pepys*, ii.87.

While, again in his account of Lord Mayor's Day 1699, Ward remarked upon the windows of the houses on Blow Bladder Street, near Cheapside, which were 'from the top to the bottom…stuffed with heads, piled one upon another like skulls in a charnel-house.'[549] In 1702, and again in 1714, an anonymous newspaper advertiser offered 'places on the Leads of the Gatehouse at the West end of the Abby.'[550] Meanwhile, for those who wanted to experience a more gruesome spectacle, there was a 'Gentlewoman that keeps the House near Tyburn' in the 1720s, who charged a small fee to stand at her windows.[551]

Contemporary illustrations also testified to the presence of groups of people either assembled on roofs of buildings, or stationed at windows on the upper floors. Rather than treat these images as exact representations of events, they provide rough indications of the deportment of spectators during performances. George Vertue's panoramic view of 'the Charity-Children in the Strand' showed people gathered at windows, on roofs and balconies, as they watched a procession of carriages in the foreground. **(Fig.29.)** Significantly, in this image, a specific group of spectators were designated part of the spectacle, the titular charity children, who sat in rows 'upon a Machine', or stand, that 'extended in length 620 feet'.[552]

Images that included spectators acknowledged the hierarchies that applied to festival audiences. Consider, for example, the different versions of the spectator experience illustrated in Vertue's engraving. In addition to the people clustered in the windows and the balconies of the buildings on The Strand, and the charity children arranged in purpose-built stands, other people present were station at the very back of the crowd. One wonders, for example, what the people in the streets snaking off The Strand actually saw. From this vantage point, it was impossible to see the procession of carriages, or the titular charity children sat in the stands, but these people still felt it

549 Ned Ward, *The London Spy*, p.222.

550 Saturday, 11 April 1702, *Postman and Historical Account* (London, England), issue 955; Saturday, 16 October 1714, *Post Boy* (1695) (London, England), issue 3034.

551 14 November 1719, *Applebee's Original Weekly Journal*, cited in *Notes and Queries*, 10th series, vol. VIII (9 November 1907), p.365.

552 George Virtue, *The View of the Charity-Children in the Strand, upon the VII of July MDCCXIII* (London, 1715), British Museum, Department of Prints & Drawings, 1880.1113.2871.

was worth making the effort to attend, even if it meant being on the periphery of the occasion.

Images showing contemporary events in other European cities also reflected how differently spectators experienced what was ostensibly the same event. Hendrick Pola's etching of celebrations in The Hague in 1713 showed wealthy men and women at the upper windows of the town hall, while more socially diverse spectators were on the ground, clustered around the monumental candelabra that were the occasion's main attraction. **(Fig.51.)** In another comparative example, Bartholomäus Wittig's painting of a *volkfest* in front of the Rathaus in Nürnberg, the artist effected social differentiation by contrasting the occasion's proletarian crowd with more fashionably dressed ladies and gentlemen, positioned above the fray at the Rathaus's windows. Similarly, an anonymous depiction of festivities in Rome for the birth of the Spanish heir, don Carlos, showed more humble spectators in the street, with their betters stationed at the windows of surrounding houses, or, in some cases, sat in purpose-built boxes or balconies attached to their facades. **(Fig.30.)**

Less public occasions also used seating to reinforce social hierarchies. Andrea Sacchi, Filippo Gagliardi and Manciola's oil painting of a carousel in Piazza Navona, Rome showed spectators distributed across the roofs and windows of permanent buildings, or sat in purpose-built stands. **(Fig.31.)** (The stands also screened off the performance from the main, public part of Piazza Navona.) The location and comfort of this seating could be seen to fulfil a political function, with the most important people present accommodated by the richly dressed, covered 'boxes' to the right of the composition, while the occasion's least exalted spectators sat on the uncovered stands on the remaining sides of the arena. The relative height of this box seating reiterated subtler gradations in class, as the covered boxes on either side of the most prestigious seats, dressed in red, were set at a slightly lower level.

Gagliardi and Lauri's colossal oil painting of a carousel held in the courtyard of Palazzo Barberini made the same point in a more forceful fashion. **(Fig.32.)** The event honoured the arrival in Rome in February 1656 of Queen Christina of Sweden, who had caused an international scandal when she had abdicated from the Swedish throne, then converted

to Catholicism, in 1654. As the occasion's most important spectator, Christina was shown seated in a red covered box towards the centre of the composition. Other spectators were positioned in less elaborately decorated stands and boxes that, as in the painting of the carousel in Piazza Navona, were set at various heights and employed different levels of covering and enclosure. The occasion's most humble seats constituted a series of benches, shown to the left in the painting, that were completely uncovered, leaving those who were sat on them at the mercy of the elements.

To some extent, this image articulated the strong identification between prestige and quality of view that was made by early modern audiences. As Malcolm Smut's work on early seventeenth-century royal entries shows, only participants in an event were guaranteed a continuous and coherent view of proceedings.[553] This mindset certainly informed the behaviour of the entourages of the French and Spanish ambassadors, who came to blows over where their respective coaches were placed during the Swedish ambassador's formal entry into London in September 1661.[554]

Every effort was made, therefore, to ensure that the most important people present at an event had the best view. Typically, the most decorative, sturdy temporary platform accommodated the monarch, the nobility, members of national and corporate government and representatives from foreign courts, such as ambassadors. As we saw above, an elaborate *trône-dais* was built for Louis XIV and his new bride Maria-Teresa in 1660. **(Fig.8.)** Its emphasis on sturdiness, height and durability illustrates the main objectives this kind of structure was designed to fulfil, as discussed in Section I of this thesis. More significantly, as Jean Marot's engraving showed, the physical location of the king and queen assured that they had an unequalled view of proceedings that was unimpeded by the presence of other audience members. In this instance, the *estrade*, or platform fulfilled a dual function, as it improved the view of the most important people present, whilst simultaneously putting them on display to other spectators. Significantly, this was an occasion with serious implications for the state, which made heightened visibility a political imperative. This appraisal of festival culture was more applicable to sixteenth and early seventeenth-century practices, but the notion that

553 Malcolm Smuts, 'Public Ceremony and the Royal Charisma', p.66.

554 30 September 1661, *Pepys*, ii.187; CSPD, vol. XLIII, p.105, no. 12, 3 October 1661.

particular acts needed to be seen by a large, socially diverse audience was still relevant to rituals of state, such as the coronation or royal entry, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.[555]

And yet, the preservation of honour and prestige wasn't every spectator's principal concern. Although quality of view could have national or international ramifications for those in the upper echelons of society, other audiences were motivated by strictly practical factors. Roger Morrice's account of the coronation in 1685 included anecdotal evidence of what some people were willing to risk for a better view:

> Nobody was hurt during the Coronation only Mr Benedict Manuel (its said of Greys Inn) who was reported to be full of drinke got into a Balconey to take his place about 2 or 3 a clock on Thursday morning, and so fell over it or off it and killed himselfe.[556]

We can only assume that the unfortunate Manuel was killed whilst trying to secure his place many hours before the event, as the 'Grand Proceeding to Their Majesties Coronation' began just after noon on Thursday 23 April.[557]

In light of Manuel's unfortunate end, it was hardly surprising that there was a market for commercially available viewing platforms. As the example of Paris in 1660 showed, building scaffolding for public festival was clearly profitable. The potential for making monetary profits underpinned the high level of contestation between the *Trésoriers*, as agents of central government, and representatives from Paris's *Prévôt des marchands et echevins*. Likewise, groups and individuals sought permission to build scaffolds along the processional route, with the purpose of selling space on these viewing platforms, thus enabling those who could afford it to pay for a better, safer, less alarming view of proceedings.

Advertisements in contemporary newspapers confirmed that Londoners were also able to buy a better view at major celebrations, as entrepreneurs announced the availability of places on scaffolds or other more permanent vantage points, such as roofs or upper-

555 Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'Politics and Performance, Event and Record', p.16.

556 25 April 1685, *Morrice*, iii, p.1.

557 Sandford, *The History of the Coronation of James II*, p.65.

floor windows. As with representations of spectators on scaffolds or other forms of stand, this evidence must be dealt with cautiously, as it was published in advance of events and may not reflect exactly what happened. By reading between the lines, however, we can build up a profile of the options that were commercially available to spectators, as well as nuancing our understanding of the challenges that faced audience members present at major public celebrations.

Typically, commercial scaffolding was marketed with reference to the key concept of proximity. Premium stands were, in part, defined by their location, as the most sought after provided spectators with a clear, unobstructed view of the action. However, those with stands for hire also made virtues of comfort and conviviality, as they attempted to differentiate their product by describing the quality of seating available, the extent to which a structure was covered or enclosed, and whether or not food and drink were offered.

On Coronation Day, proximity to Westminster Abbey was a real selling point, providing spectators with the opportunity to see the monarch just before- and just after- the coronation ceremony took place. In preparation for the coronation of Queen Anne on 23 April 1702, one anonymous advertiser offered 'places on the Leads of the Gatehouse at the West end of the Abby.' For those who were willing to pay more, there were facilities equivalent to those provided in the corporate box at a modern sports event- comfortable, convenient and, most importantly, exclusive- with:

> …several rooms for entire Companies, to be let (without coming near any of the Prisoners) being very commodious for your coming to your places at any hour, a back way also. There is no danger of Scaffolding, and you have accommodation of eating and drinking.[558]

For the coronation of George I on 20 October 1714, spectators could choose from more than one commercially available option. In Westminster alone, four stands were advertised in the vicinity of the Abbey. In common with 1702, there were 'Places to Lett' upon 'the Scaffolding without Side the Gate-House, for seeing the King 'go to be crown'd

558 Saturday, 11 April 1702, *Postman and Historical Account* (London, England), issue 955.

and come back again.'[559] Significantly, this stand was located on or close to a 'large piece of Ground' that had been available for hire before Anne's coronation. **(Fig.38. [1])** In 1714, it offered:

> The best View of any Scaffold, fronts the Abby, sees 4 or 500 yards, and Conveniency of coming by Water to the Horse-Ferry, and so thro' the Dean's Yard to the Places at any Hour, free from Crowd or Danger, being the strongest Building of any, and Retiring-Rooms to refresh, with all Eatables and Drinkables of the best. Prices from a Guinea to Half a Crown.[560]

Another anonymous proprietor offered places on scaffolds on 'each Side next the West-Door of Westminster-Abbey, exceeding all others in Prospect between that Place and Westminster Hall.'[561] With the coronation scheduled for late October, it was hardly surprising that the advert stressed the cosiness and warmth of the stands, which were furnished with, 'Conveniences of all kinds, being well built, secured from Rain, well lined and matted, with very Convenient Rooms to retire to with Pleasure, and so avoid all Trouble.'[562] **(Fig. 38. [2])**

Londoners were also invited to 'Enquire at Mr Rose's the Undertaker' regarding a 'strong convenient Scaffold' erected on the other side of Abbey, 'before St Margaret's Church along the Churchyard facing King street.'[563] In common with the other commercial stands in this area, this scaffold was marketed by its quality of view and comfort. It offered 'a full View and Prospect' of '2 or 300 yards' of the king's 'going and coming' to Westminster Abbey, slightly less than that afforded by the Gate House stand, but spectators were given the additional boon of being no more than '2 or 3 yards' away from the royal procession as it passed by.[564] Like the other scaffolds, Rose promised seating that was 'warm' and 'lin'd with Cloth or Tapestry, and Carpets hanging down, and the Seats covered with Cloth, and very dry and ornamental.'[565] **(Fig.38. [3])**

559 Saturday, 16 October 1714, *Post Boy* (1695) (London, England), issue 3034.

560 ibid.

561 Thursday 14 October 1714, *Daily Courant*, issue 4048.

562 ibid.

563 Thursday, 14 October 1714, *Post Man and the Historical Account* (London, England), issue 11050.

564 ibid.

565 ibid.

The final stand in Westminster comprised 'extraordinary well built seats, well matted and lined', which were adjacent to the Three Tuns Tavern 'in Bow Street alias Theiving-lane.'[566] **(Fig.38. [4])** As elsewhere, this stand was described with the terminology of warmth, comfort and accessibility, offering 'the Conveniency of several Rooms with fires in them', as well as a point of easy access, 'where any Person may through to the Scaffold at any time without being crowded.'[567] However, unlike the other stands in the area, this scaffold didn't provide a view of the coronation procession. Bow Street, which extended into Thieving Lane, was to the north of Westminster Abbey, off the main thoroughfare of King Street. Noticeably, the advert did not make a selling point of its proximity to the Abbey, or its view of the coronation procession. Instead, the enterprise was framed explicitly in terms of conviviality, suggesting an experience of Coronation Day that had less to do with witnessing the official rituals associated with the event. Instead, Coronation Day at the Three Tuns was sold as an opportunity to enjoy a day off work in good company, with access to plentiful quantities of refreshments.

Notices in contemporary newspapers made additional reference to a stand beyond the confines of Westminster, and the hub of activity around the Abbey. This was situated on The Strand 'at a Pastry Cooks within 2 Doors of the Fountain Tavern.' **(Fig.39. [5])** We can only speculate, but it is not unlikely that this stand was intended as a profitable sideline for the pastry shop's owners, as seats were fitted, '…the whole length of the Window, with a carpet hung over it.'[568] Although the location lacked the proximity to the action guaranteed by the scaffolds erected near Westminster Abbey, the stand was invested with remarkably similar attributes. In common with other commercially available options, these seats were sold on the basis of proximity to the action and the amenability of the experience offered:

> This Place is so near to see the King in his Coach, that it exceeds a Balcony. There is a Parlour to be in out of the Cold till the Ceremony begins, so that you will not be obligated to sit 5 or 6 Hours on an open Scaffold in the Street. Note, You may see a great distance from the first and second Seats.[569]

566 Thursday, 14 October 1714, *Daily Courant* (London, England), issue 4048.

567 ibid.

568 Thursday, 16 September 1714, *Post Man and the Historical Account* (London, England), issue 11050.

569 Thursday, 16 September, *Post Man and the Historical Account* (London, England).

How spectators watched festival was suggestive of the experiences they sought to have on days of occasion. Some wanted to get the best view possible of the main event, such as the coronation procession, while others sacrificed quality of view for access to food, drink and good company. Others merely wanted the opportunity to say they had been there on a historical event – even if by 'there', they meant at the back of a huge crowd.

**Section II conclusion:**

This discussion has shown the crucial disjuncture between festival as an idea and festival in practice. As we saw in Section I, months were spent planning major celebrations, like the *entrée* of Louis XIV into Paris in August 1660. Similarly, preparations for the firework display to celebrate the coronation of James II in London in April 1685 had begun two months beforehand on 29 February. The care and rigour of the preparations were intended to assure that on the day or days of the performance, everything would go to plan. And yet, as this section has clearly illustrated, some factors, notably accident, injuries and poor weather, were beyond the capabilities of even the most competent organising committee. These incidents constituted the most spectacular examples of loss of control, but as the variations in spectator experiences suggested, the realisation of events was inherently fragmentary, which posed a challenge to those in charge. As the following section shows, uncontrollable factors were routinely excised from the official records of events, suggesting the extent to which they were deemed to compromise the ideals enshrined in the occasions.

## Section III:

## Representation

### Introduction: Festival in Print

*Et comment auroit-il pû en arriver autrement, puis qu'apres auoir estudié et recherché cette matiere pendant dix-huict mois, apres auoir eu communication de plesieurs Relations particulieres, & de quelques registres publics, apres auoir conferé auec vne partie de ceux de qui ont conduit cette Ceremonie, j'hesite encore de cautioner l'exactitude de cette Relation*.[570]

Jean Tronçon used the authorial preface to *L'Entrée Triomphante*, his elaborate chronicle of Louis XIV's entry into Paris in 1660, to stress the reverence implicit in the two years he had taken to complete the volume. By accounting for each aspect of the book's production, narrative content and illustrative prints, he argued that the importance of the royal subject matter warranted nothing less than absolute precision, dedication of time and tireless effort. This preface is nothing less than a masterclass in rhetorical hesitancy as, with the same breath, Tronçon presented his work as the definitive account, the product of eighteen month's study and research and as completely unequal to the task.

Tronçon's description of the processes involved in producing his volume demonstrates the extent to which creating a record of a festival was a project in its own right. His account is particular useful for establishing the processes that were necessary to produce a record of this quality, such as archival research, consultation with other experts, cross-referencing of different sources and fact checking. Notably, he also made a deliberate point of using the time taken by the City of Paris to prepare for the *entrée* to defend the extended period of gestation his own volume had required, drawing conceptual parallels between the completion of his task and the weeks and months the *Prévôt des marchands et échevins* had required to make all necessary preparations. As Tronçon remarked, '*la Ville n'auoit pas encore peu disposer des choses qu'elle preparoit*

570 'And how could it happen otherwise, that after studying and researching this subject for eighteen months, after hearing many different accounts and consulting public records, after conferring with some of those who organised the event, I still hesitate to guarantee the accuracy of this account.' *Tronçon 1662*, p.5.

*pour vn Triomphe de cette importance, ce qui obligea leurs Majestez de faire quelque sejour en cette maison Royalle [Château de Fontainebleau]*'.[571]

This survey does not pretend to be exhaustive. Rather than consider every relevant representation of festival that was produced between 1660 and 1715, it adopts Tronçon's *L'Entrée Triomphante* and Francis Sandford's *The History of the Coronation of James II* as its main case studies. Likewise, rather than focus on the ideological and iconographical content of the books, which has received scholarly attention elsewhere, this account of festival books focuses on the materiality of the volumes, and the extent to which they, in common with the events they commemorated, were the products of good project management and collaborative working practices. Attention to the practical matter of how events were commemorated reflects the reality that these volumes were commodities that were designed to appeal to consumers and the market.

571 '…the City didn't have ready the things needed for a triumphal entry of this importance, obliging their majesties to spend some time at the royal palace [the Château de Fontainebleau]'. *Tronçon 1662*, p.1.

## Section III

## Chapter 1

### Making Big Books in the Seventeenth Century

The experience of festival in print was intimately linked to the materiality of the object. Sherwin and Collins's engraving of the firework display to celebrate the coronation of James II in 1685 was notable for its size, the quality of paper used and sharpness of its engraved line. **(Fig.25.)** In common with the book it illustrated, Sandford's *History of the Coronation of James II*, it was designed to be an impressive object that reinforced the event's importance and its most essential iconographical and ideological content. The printed commodity's 'spectator', possibly absent from the live performance, was shown a heavily edited version of the event, with the transformation from performance to textual description or visual image intended to locate the event in its appropriate register of meaning, as the viewer was forced to concentrate on those aspects of the occasion that were recorded for posterity.

Celebrations were commemorated in a range of products. This section deals with the most elaborate festival publications, but other types of printed texts and images were devised to appeal to different markets and different price points. Already in the course of this thesis, we have considered, as evidence, products associated with events in London, Paris and elsewhere. In addition to hugely expensive volumes, like Tronçon and Sandford's, consumers had access to printed textual accounts of events in newspapers, newsbooks, pamphlets and ballads, and visual representations in the form of printed images, which were engraved, etched or produced in mezzotint. One thinks, for example, of Ladame's single-sheet engraving of Louis's *entrée* in 1660, which condensed into a single image the visual information spread across Tronçon's *L'Entrée Triomphante.* **(Fig.5.)** More rare were printed images, such as de Hooghe's depiction of the festivities for the coronation of William and Mary, which were coloured by hand. **(Fig.27.)**

Although it is not the main imperative of the following discussion, the idea that the same event could be packaged to appeal to different audiences deserves greater scholarly attention. This future project might also consider the range of non-print commodities that can be associated with urban festival, which I have encountered in the course of my research. To date, these have included examples of ceramics, glass, metalwork and a ladies' fan. Key to understanding the impact of these objects is the issue of accessibility. One wonders, for example, who saw the different types of product? Who bought them? Where? For now, awareness of these issue, and the different commodities produced, will serve to broaden our understanding of the 'absent' audiences for festival beyond the other courts and elite readers cited in existing writing about festival literature.

**Printing Books in Folio**

Both Tronçon's *L'Entrée Triomphante* and Sandford's *History of the Coronation of James II* were prestige publications, as they were printed in folio and heavily illustrated with specially-commissioned engravings. The following discussion deals, first, with the general processes and costs involved in producing texts of this quality, before moving onto more in-depth appraisal of Tronçon and Sandford's texts. Emphasis on personnel, processes and materials clearly demonstrates the collaborative nature of early modern printing, but it also highlights the importance of having a good project manager at the helm – one capable of bringing together the textual and illustrative components that were the hallmarks of the finest early modern festival publications.

Estimating the costs of production of early modern printed books is an enterprise fraught with inexactitude, with precise costs of materials, most notably paper and ink, and personnel proving elusive. For scholars of print history, tallying up these costs is hindered by the absence of good surviving evidence. There were, of course, exceptions. The archive of the Antwerp-based *Officina Plantiniana* is an extraordinary resource for historians of early modern print, preserving a wealth of documentation that sheds

valuable light on the activities of a thriving early modern print house.[572] Moreover, in-depth studies of individual publications, such as the First Folio edition of Shakespeare's plays, have facilitated more precise estimates of the costs incurred in the production of the most elaborate publications.[573]

The high cost of Tronçon and Sandford's volumes must, in part, be ascribed to the expensiveness of paper in seventeenth-century Europe, with books in folio constituting the costliest standard printing format. Cheaper formats, such as quarto and octavo, required less paper: quartos comprised single sheets of printing paper folded twice to make sections with four leaves (or eight pages), while books in octavo were made with single sheets of paper folded three times to produce sections with eight leaves (or sixteen pages). This effectively meant that books in quarto needed half as much paper as those in folio, with those in octavo only requiring half as much again.

John Bidwell has estimated that paper alone 'could amount to half of the production costs' of a book, which could add up to even more than the cost of labour.[574] Bidwell's study of the French paper used in English books highlighted the expensiveness of paper as a heavily taxed, imported luxury good.[575] Until the end of the seventeenth century, the quality 'white papers' suitable for printing weren't made in England, where there was only a small domestic industry that produced inferior brown wrapping paper.[576] Peter Blayney has calculated how much it cost to produce Shakespeare's *First Folio* in 1623. His estimates provide a good working indication of how much it cost to produce a substantial volume in folio. By Blayney's estimates, the total cost of production per volume was 6s 8d, with each copy of the *First Folio* retailing for 15s. Two hundred and twenty seven sheets of paper were needed to print each copy, or approximately half a ream. (Paper was sold in reams that consisted of between 480 and 500 sheets of paper.) With paper costing in the region of 4s 6d per ream for Crown printing paper, this meant

572 Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Van Gendt & co, 1969-72).

573 Peter W. M. Blayney, *The First Folio of Shakespeare* (Washington D.C.: Folger Library, 1991).

574 John Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', *The Cambridge History of the Book, Volume IV: 1557-1695*, ed. by John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie, with the assistance of Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.583-601 (p.587).

575 Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', p.583.

576 Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', pp.585-6.

that the cost of paper was 2s 3d per copy, or, around one third of the total cost of production.[577]

Until the late seventeenth century, English printers had to import most of the paper they used, with the bulk coming from France, and 'negligible quantities' imported from Italy, Germany and Holland.[578] French paper was consumed in such vast quantities in England that printers 'could name different types by the place of origin, like varieties of cheese'.[579] The lowest quality French paper was made at Morlaix, with standard grade produced in Normandy and Brittany.[580] La Rochelle was noted for producing the highest quality paper, and was used to print the most prestigious volumes. Imported paper was subject to import duties, with the cost of ordinary printing paper set at 4s 6d between 1660 and 1700, but as we will see, the Crown was known to grant 'exemptions from the duty as a form of literary patronage'.[581]

Ink was another major cost incurred in early modern printing. The ink used in publishing was oil-based, as water-based inks used in woodcut printing and wood engraving did not spread 'reliably and uniformly on the metal surface of type'.[582] Typically, lampblack was used as the pigment, with some type of animal fats and coal tar. The best quality ink was made from finely ground pigment that had washed and ground to remove impurities.[583] Like paper, the cost of ink cannot be cited with any degree of accuracy, but Graham Rees and Maria Wakely have estimated that a pound of basic black ink, as used by the King's Printers in England, cost between 11d and 1s 1d by the end of the seventeenth century.[584] The red ink used for initial letters and on decorative borders was more expensive as it was made from vermillion and varnish.[585]

577 Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', p.588.

578 Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', 583.

579 ibid.

580 ibid.

581 Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', p.591; Colin Bloy, *A History of Printing, Ink, Balls and Rollers, 1440-1850* (London: The Wynkyn de Worde Society, 1967), pp.50, 93.

582 John Winter, 'Ink', *Grove Art Online* (Oxford: Oxford Art Online, 2009), http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T041327 [accessed 15 August 2011].

583 ibid.

584 Rees and Wakely, *Publishing, Politics and Culture*, p.64.

585 ibid.

The actual process of printing was highly collaborative, which brought together the professional expertise of a large number of personnel. The title pages and imprints in both Sandford and Tronçon's volumes only included details of the author and publisher, but making both books required an extremely wide range of technical, artistic and intellectual inputs. Dwelling on the practice of producing and distributing a book illustrates the extent to which printing was a highly collaborative enterprise in the early modern period, with books produced by means of extended professional networks. This was especially true of large-scale enterprises like the King's Printers in London and the *Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy* in Paris, who were charged with producing commodities that were intended to be of the highest quality, such as special editions in folio, or related to the mechanisms of state government, such as official printed proclamations.

Printing using a hand press was a complex, physical process. Before the printing could even take place, the type, the metal characters used to print the letters and punctuation, had to be made. In England, typefounding was a separate trade registered with the Stationers' Company, and was highly skilled in its own right. Rees and Wakely note that the type, initials and ornaments in volumes printed by the King's Printers in England in the early seventeenth century were notable for the sharpness and freshness of the impressions made, indicating that, 'the King's Printers must have rid themselves of worn materials much more quickly than their brethren in the trade did.'[586] This judgement is entirely consistent with surviving copies of *The History of the Coronation of James II*, which are notable for their crispness of type, initials and ornament.

Once the type had been cast, a separate set of professionals, the compositors, were responsible for setting the text, or copy, that was to be printed, arranging the metal type letter by letter and space by space.[587] Type was set in type-pages laid out in a wooden frame called a forme according to the format of the page being printed.[588] The forme was then sent to the press where a proof sheet was pulled, again by a different set of workers, the pressmen. Impressions of the forme were printed off and where necessary amended by the correctors, who were responsible for monitoring the accuracy of the

586 ibid.

587 Rees and Wakely, *Publishing, Politics and Culture*, pp.151;

588 ibid.

text while it was still in the print shop.[589] Expensive volumes had a greater number of individual formes, as they displayed more variety in individual page layouts and greater use of different fonts and font sizes, which made the process of printing even more labour intensive and increased the costs of production.[590]

On the business and financial side were the owners of the print shop, their clerks, accountants, debt collectors and, in some instances, legal advisors. Luxury objects, like Sandford and Tronçon's volumes, were also heavily illustrated and required contributions from illustrators in the form of woodcuts, copper-plate engravings and, by the late seventeenth century, mezzotints.[591] In England, once printed, the text had to be registered with the Stationers' Company. The finished product was bound by bookbinders, before being retailed by the publisher or a separate bookseller. Notably, this workforce, already sizeable in its own right, fails to take into account the costs of associated labour, namely the warehousemen, porters and carmen, servants and apprentices who provided additional vital support to the printing process.

This brief account of early modern publishing demonstrates the collaborative nature of the enterprise, and the large number of personnel who were involved in the production and distribution of volumes in folio during the period. In common with other aspects of early modern festivals, such as the production of triumphal architecture or firework displays, it highlights the crucial importance of good project management. As with the organisation of the actual events, the production of festival literature was partially devolved with a broad-based workforce responsible for different aspects of the overall product. Closer consideration of aspects of *L'Entrée Triomphant*e and *The History of the Coronation of James II* will help tease out the identities of some of the individuals involved, and help to suggest the social, cultural and political ideals that motivated the production of this kind of book.

589 ibid.

590 Rees and Wakely, *Publishing, Politics and Culture*, p.152.

591 Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, pp.193-4.

**Section III**

**Chapter 2**

## Recording Festival in Paris: *L'Entrée Triomphante*

*L'Entrée Triomphante* fulfilled the most important design objective of the festival book by showing Louis's *entrée* in its most glorious light. Both the dignified, somewhat scholarly tone of its text and the fine quality of its engravings impressed on the reader the exquisiteness of the event. More correctly, *L'Entrée Triomphante* was the beautifully re-packaged version of Louis's *entrée*, constituting a separate experience in its own right. It was the version of the event where it was possible to excise all unsightly details –the *échafaux*, dusty streets, unruly crowds and rogue shop signs – and showcase, instead, the occasion's wonderful triumphal architecture, erudition and political allegory. It was, in short, the perfected, ideal embodiment of the imperfect, realised performance.

This discussion focuses on the etched and engraved plates that illustrate the volume, as the commission of these images suggests how a festival book, as the ideal version of an event, was made, and the practical and economic considerations that informed its production. Although the volume as a whole was intended to fix the *entrée* for all posterity in its best light, the practical matter of doing this had to be delegated to a sizeable workforce. As with so many of the entities considered in this thesis, *L'Entrée Triomphante* required an effective project manager, working alongside a team, who also had a vested interest in producing the very best record of an occasion with national and international consequence.

*L'Entrée Triomphante* was the product of collaboration, and attests to the devolved nature of early modern printing. The title page and imprint referred to three key stages in the volume's germination – its commission, production and sale –all of which were the responsibility of different personnel. The title page explicitly stated the involvement of two groups: *les Messieurs de la Ville*, who had commissioned the *entrée* and its record; and the booksellers, Pierre Le Petit, Thomas Ioly and Louis Bilaine, at whose premises

'*Les Exemplaires se vendent*'.[592] The imprint at the end of the book revealed the publisher as François le Cointe, who was based on rue Saint-Jacques '*à l'image Saint-Remy, prés le College du Plessis-Sorbone*'.[593] Little is known about Tronçon, the volume's editor, who did not appear on the title page, but as his authorial preface suggested, he took the lead in researching the volume and composing its text. In addition, the evidence provided by his other major publication, *Le droict françois et coustume de la prevosté & vicomté de Paris*, suggests that he had expertise in the history and ceremonial of Paris's municipal elites.

Pierre II Mariette, a well-known publisher and print seller, was put in charge of the volume's illustrative plates. The *marché* between Mariette and *les Messieurs de la Ville* provides additional crucial insight into the making of *L'Entrée Triomphante*, reiterating the extent to which the elements of a major festival book were devolved to different personnel. Mariette's contract showed the high premium placed on illustrating the volume with the finest quality of illustrations possible, as he was paid handsomely for his services, receiving in total 2500 L ('*la somme de deux mille cinq cens livres*') to secure work of the requisite quality. It was also stipulated that he would '*faire graver à ses despense par les mellieurs ouvriers qu'il poura trouver*'.[594] For his efforts, Mariette received the '*privilège*', or right, to sell plates of the procession, which appeared in the form of four loose-sheet engravings soon after Louis's *entrée* in 1660.[595]

In the contract's rigorous wording, Mariette was ordered to commission twenty-one plates that measured '*neuf poulces sur treize et demy au moins*'.[596] (A 'poulce' or 'pouce' was a measurement based on the length of the thumb.)[597] It was stipulated that the plates should be in a range of print-based media, with three engravings ('*au burin*') and eighteen etchings ('*à l'eau forte*'). Mariette was given more leeway regarding content,

592 'The copies are sold'. *Tronçon 1662*, title page [n.p.].

593 '…at the picture of Saint-Remy, close to the college of Plessis-Sorbonne'. ibid.

594 '…have [the plates] engraved at his expense by the best practitioners he could find'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579 [fol. 1 r].

595 M.G. Duplessis, 'Privilège des graveurs de l'entrée du roi à Paris en 1660 accordé à Pierre Mariette. Document annotated by M.G. Duplessis', *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français* (1872), pp.257-60.

596 'at least nine poulces by thirteen and a half'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579 [fol. 1 r].

597 'Da sa primeraine signification est le premier et plus puissant doigt de la main…Il se prend aussi pour la mesure traversaine en largeur dudit doigt.' Jean Nicot, 'Poulce', *Le Thresor de la langue francoyse* (1606), *Dictionnaires d'autrefois* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [n.d.]), http://artflx.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdico1look.pl?strippedhw=poulce [accessed 13 December 2010].

with five engravings to show the procession, while the remaining sixteen plates could show other, unspecified episodes that illustrated 'l*e discourse qui sera faict sur ladite entrée*'.[598]

This roughly tallies with the evidence of the book itself, which did, indeed, include five plates showing the procession, with sixteen additional plates illustrating aspects of the celebrations. The latter included two representations of key locations on the processional route, Hôtel de Ville on Place de Grève and Hôtel Beauvais; four views of permanent improvements made to the city, at Pont Notre-Dame and Porte Saint-Antoine **(Figs. 14., 15.)**; and two of events that followed Louis's *entrée* – the firework display on the River Seine and the *Te Deum* in Notre-Dame. The remaining ten engravings depicted the event's occasional architecture: the triumphal arches at Porte Saint-Antoine, Le Parnasse, Pont Notre-Dame, Marché-Neuf and Place Dauphine **(Figs. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13)**; the *trône-dais*; and the *amphiteatre* in Place Dauphine **(Figs. 8., 34.)**. The final plate was a plan of Place Dauphine, which indicated its position in relation to the river, Pont Neuf and the surrounding roads.

Surviving copies of *L'Entrée Triomphante* included four additional plates that weren't stipulated in Mariette's *marché*. These also appeared in the '*Oeconomie et dissection de tovt l'ovvrage*', loosely the volume's table of contents. These were the frontispiece, which showed Louis, enthroned, in the act of receiving a copy of the finished book from the hand of Alexandre de Sève, *Prévôt des Marchands*; a bust-length portrait of Louis enclosed by an oval frame; an engraved dedication to the king; and, more unusually, a representation of the '*Disposition de la Milice de Paris lors quelle parut devant leurs Majes[ez] entre le Bois de Vincennes et la d[i]te ville*'.[599]

The *marché* also revealed that Mariette, as project manager, was responsible for supervising the quality of the paper, print and bindings, to ensure that the finished volume was as well executed as the engravings. To this end, he was responsible for providing '*bon papier*' ['good paper'] and '*habiles imprimeurs*' ['skilled printers']. The

598 'the narrative of the said entrée'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579 [fol. 1 r].

599 'The position of the Paris Militia as they appeared in front of their majesties, between the Vincennes wood and the said town [Paris]] on 23 August'.

deadline for the first batch of finished copies of *L'Entrée Triomphante* was '*le commencement de l'année prochaine ou plutost sy faire se peult cens exemplaires complets et bien relliez*'.[600] Examples of two sorts of bindings were required by this putative deadline: twenty '*en maroquin doré sur tranches*' with twenty-five additional copies '*de veau marbré*'.[601] This suggests that even at this very early stage in the design process, some kind of product differentiation was already under discussion. The British Library in London has examples of both types of binding, with the version in Moroccan leather seeming to be the premium edition. However, to say any more about the subtle differences between the two bindings requires a more systematic study of contemporary bindings of this book than I have completed to date.

Mariette's *marché* did not refer to the individual artists who were commissioned to produce the engravings for *L'Entrée Triomphante*. However, it is possible to establish this information by means of Tronçon's authorial preface, where he gave thanks to '*les Sieurs Chauueau, Poülly, Marot, le Pautre, Flamen, & Cochin*', and through close inspection of the plates themselves, many of which were signed in all or some impressions.[602] In assembling this team, Mariette fulfilled his brief to seek out '*les mellieurs ouvriers*', as this group included some of the finest artists of their generation: François Chaveau, Jean Marot, Charles Cochin, Nicolas de Poilly and Jean Lepautre. By selecting the most celebrated practitioners of his day, Mariette reiterated the importance of the *entrée* itself, as choosing the best team ensured that details of the ceremony, its design and political agendas would be effectively and beautifully packaged for consumption by absent audiences.

Different artists were employed to produce different categories of image. This was by no means an uncommon practice: a small team of artists and engravers were often employed to produce individual parts of a book's illustrations, with the work divvied up according to the type of work the artists were best known for. The professional experiences of two of the artists involved, Lepautre and Marot, exemplified the composite, collaborative nature of early modern print production. Both had spent the

600 '…the beginning of next year or by whenever it had been possible to finish one hundred complete and well bound copies'. A.N., Paris, Minutier central, LXXXVII, 579 [fol. 1 r].

601 'Moroccan leather stamped with gold on the edge'; 'of marbled calf's skin'. ibid.

602 Tronçon 1662, 'Advis av Lectevr' [n.p.].

earlier part of their professional lives in the workshop of the celebrated French landscape engraver, Israël Silvestre, where Marot had depicted architectural details, while Lepautre enhanced the compositions with carefully staged groups of figures.[603]

The scope of Marot's involvement demonstrated the effectiveness of Mariette's project management, and the extent to which he employed the most suitable men for individual tasks. As an architect and celebrated architectural engraver, Marot produced most of *L'Entrée Triomphante*'s engravings of permanent and occasional architecture, with his old collaborator, Lepautre, providing animated groups of rapt, genteel spectators.[604] Marot's signature is visible on plates of the triumphal arches at Porte Saint-Antoine and Marché-Neuf; the *trône-dais*; the temporary amphitheatre in Place Dauphine; and the ship-shaped firework machine on the River Seine **(Figs. 8., 9., 12., 22., 34.)**. He was also responsible for all but one of the views of permanent architectural features: Porte Saint-Antoine (the permanent stone arch and as a wider vista) **(Fig. 15)**; the façades of Hôtel de Ville and Hôtel Beauvais; the interior of Notre-Dame during the *Te Deum* and the plan of Place Dauphine.

Marot's contribution to *L'Entrée Triomphante* played to his professional strengths. As the author of two volumes extolling contemporary French architectural practice, he had proved his ability to show such subjects in their best light. The earlier volume, better known as the *Petit Marot*, was produced between 1654 and 1660 and featured 116 plates showing the most important buildings in Paris, alongside the author's plans for a church façade, a tomb and city gate. We can only assume, but it would seem likely that Marot's successful execution of the engraved plates in the *Petit Marot* led to his commission from Mariette. His pre-eminence as an architectural engraver was confirmed by *L'Architecture françoise*, also known as the *Grand Marot*, which was published in 1670, and included 120 highly finished architectural engravings. As in the *Petit Marot*, it showcased the best of contemporary French architecture, alongside some of Marot's own designs. Notably, the *Grand Marot* included 10 plates of triumphal

603 A. Mauban, *Jean Marot: Architecte et Graveur Parisien* (Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1944), p.56; Maxime Préaud, *Antoine Lepautre, Jacques Lepautre et Jean Lepautre*, Bibliothèque nationale de France: Graveurs du XVIIe siècle, vol. 11 (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1993), pp.171, 176.

604 Maxime Preaud, *Antoine Lepautre, Jacques Lepautre et Jean Lepautre*, pp.354-5.

arches, which reflected his role as *Architecte du Roi*, with its responsibility for overseeing the design and construction of ephemeral architecture for court festivals.

The processional plates were also the result of collaboration. Pierre-Jean Mariette, grandson of Pierre II Mariette, described them as 'Gravées en partie par Jean Le Pautre et en partie par N. Cochin', with some impressions of the processional plates even signed 'Le Pautre sculpsit'.[605] Drawings by Cochin in the collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the National Museums of Scotland attest to his involvement, and show aspects of the procession that appear in an adapted, simplified form in the processional engravings. The National Museum of Scotland's pen and ink drawing is much the smaller object, and only depicts those participants immediately before the king in the procession – namely 100 Swiss guards, the marshals of France, the king's dais and the king, himself, mounted on horseback. The three pen and ink drawings in the Bibliothèque Nationale are on a grander scale and showed the entire procession. **(Figs. 35., 36.)**

The existence of Cochin's preparatory drawings seems to confirm another clause in Mariette's *marché* – the advance of 600 L he was paid on 13 August 1660. The remainder of Marriete's 2500 L fee was presumably held back until the work had been completed, functioning as a mechanism of incentive, similar to those employed before the *entrée* to ensure the construction of triumphal architecture to deadline. In this instance, it was likely that Mariette had employed some of his team of artists before the *entrée* took place on 26 August 1660. This, in turn, makes it possible that the illustrative plates in *L'Entrée Triomphante* were based on drawings 'from life', enhancing their value as documentary evidence. Cochin's drawings have been dated 1660, the year of the entrée, and are presumed to be the basis of the four loose-sheet engravings of the procession that appeared soon after the entrée. (These were same engravings that Mariette had the *privilège* for.) An additional drawing by Marot in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris offers further corroboration. Also dated ca.1660, this pen, ink and India ink wash showed the triumphal arch at Marché-Neuf. **(Fig.37.)**

605 'Partly engraved by Jean Le Pautre and partly by N. Cochin'. Préaud, Antoine Lepautre, Jacques Lepautre et Jean Lepautre, p.358; Timothy Clifford, *Designs of Desire: Architectural and Ornamental Prints and Drawings 1500-1850* (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 1999), p.135.

Mariette's team of artists also had some experience engraving festival events, a factor that possibly influenced their employment on *L'Entrée Triomphante*. Lepautre etched Louis's coronation in Reims Cathedral, which was published as a single-sheet print in 1655, and engraved a triumphal arch to mark the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659. It is unclear, however, whether the latter represented an actual structure, or was a projection of idealised triumphal architecture, such as those arches included in the *Grand Marot*. Significantly, a number of the artists who worked on *L'Entrée Triomphante* went on to produce illustrated plates for other major French festival publications, which suggests that their involvement in such a high profile project enhanced their professional prestige and led to future employment. Lepautre was reunited with Silvestre, contributing to the engraved plates that illustrated Félibien's *Les Plaisirs de l'Isle enchantée*, the printed chronicle of the *fête* held at Versailles in May 1664. While Chauveau produced engravings for the book commemorating the tournament held in Paris in 1662 to celebrate the birth of Louis's son and heir, the Dauphin. Both the event and festival book were hugely influential in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Europe.

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*L'Entrée Triomphante* was designed to be an exceptional volume. The evidence of surviving copies of the book, the reputation of the artists involved and the wording of Mariette's *marché* reiterated the significance of the events it commemorated. In common with other practices considered in this dissertation, the production of the volume was highly collaborative and necessitated good project management to coordinate the different aspects of its production.

**Section III**

**Chapter 3**

## Recording Festival in London: *The History of the Coronation of James II*

Like *L'Entrée Triomphante*, Francis Sandford's *History of the Coronation of James II* presented an event in its best light. The coronation of James II on 23 April 1685 was invested with a grandeur and inviolability that were somewhat at odds with recent history. The succession had been a hot topic since the revelation in 1673 that James, then Duke of York, had converted to Catholicism.[606] This had precipitated over a decade of fractious political debates about James's suitability, as a Catholic, to rule a Protestant country; fears which only intensified when Charles II's consort, Catherine of Braganza, failed to produce a male heir. In Parliament, these doubts manifested as the Exclusion Crisis (1678-81), which saw a Whig faction propose that James, as a Catholic, be excluded from the line of succession in favour of the Protestant daughters from his first marriage, Mary and Anne.[607] As we saw above, high politics spread onto the streets of London in the exhilarating political theatre of the Pope-burning Processions.

Recent history had put special pressure on James's coronation, which manifested in the quality of the official record, with Sandford's *History of the Coronation of James II* often regarded as the finest example of a printed festival book in English.[608] Stephen Zwicker's introduction to the digital facsimile lavished further praise on the book by describing it as 'a major publishing enterprise' because 'nothing so elaborate…had ever

606 Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, pp.173-78; Harris, *Restoration*, pp.81-2, 95, 186-8, 197, 265, 285-7, 339, 352.

607 For more about the Exclusion Crisis and the political climate of the 1670s and 1680s, see: Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Tim Harris, 'Propaganda and Public Opinion in Seventeenth-century England', *Media and the Revolution: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by Jeremy D. Popkin (Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky, 1995), pp.48-73; Tim Harris, 'Perceptions of the Crowd in later Stuart London', *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720*, ed. by J.F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.250-72; Tim Harris, *Restoration: the Kingdoms of Charles II, 1660-1685* (Harmondsworth: Allen Lane, 2005); Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis 1678-81* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

608 Peter Sherlock, 'Sandford, Francis (1630-1694)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/view/article/24633?docPos=5 [accessed 10 October 2010].

been produced for the installation of an English Monarch.'[609] Exceptional though it was, Sandford's volume still had its precedents. Although England did not have the same established tradition of illustrated festival books as other European countries, the coronation of Charles II, another watershed moment in recent history, was documented in fine-grain detail. John Ogilby's *Entertainment of his most excellent majestie Charles II*, published in folio in 1662, included Elias Ashmole's textual account, *A Brief Narrative of his Majestie's Solemn Coronation*. In common with Sandford and Tronçon's festival books, Ogliby's text functioned as the idealised, learned version of the event, and was illustrated with large-format engravings of key sites and rituals associated with the coronation. The Scottish artist David Loggan produced the single-sheet engravings of the four triumphal arches erected in the City of London along the processional route, while the Bohemian artist Wenceslaus Hollar was responsible for the plates showing the procession, and the double-page etching of Charles II being crowned in Westminster Abbey. Notably, this scene was replicated in Sandford's *History of the Coronation of James II*, and in later depictions of the coronation of William and Mary.

And yet, although Ogilby's *Entertainment* could be viewed as its most immediate model, *The History of the Coronation of James II* had a special pathos all of its own. Within a year of its publication in 1687, it had effectively become defunct. James, the king praised so strenuously in text and visual image, was forced into exile in late 1688/89 [O.S.]. Sandford, the man charged with overseeing the production of the volume, had resigned from the position of Lancaster Herald at the College of Arms after 'conscientiously' refusing to attend the new monarchs, William and Mary. Within five years, Sandford was dead, spending his last moments in Newgate Prison, where he had been imprisoned for debt.[610]

This is, perhaps, to get slightly ahead of the story. With the hindsight of history, Sandford's efforts may seem like a spectacular example of someone backing absolutely

609 Stephen Zwicker, 'About the History of the Coronation of James II', The History of the Coronation of James II: a digitized facsimile of the 1687 edition belonging to the Bridwell Library, computer optical disc: col; 4 ¾ in. plus 1 insert (Oakland, California: Octavo, 1999), p.3.

610 Peter Sherlock, 'Sandford, Francis (1630–1694)', *DNB* [Online edn.].

the wrong horse. To take a step back, the commission to produce the official account of the coronation was hugely prestigious. It was, after all, an event with immediate historical consequence, and its high-profile record had the potential to enhance the professional reputations of those involved in its production. If Ogilby's *Entertainment* had provided the blueprint for the English festival book, Sandford improved on its master to make *The History of the Coronation of James II* one of the finest records of early modern spectacle anywhere.

By treating *The History of the Coronation of James II* as a design project, we will endeavour to understand the practical means by which this was achieved, and the issues that were associated with its production, consumption and distribution. In addition to consideration of the materials used and the implications of the format it was printed in, this discussion also touches on such key questions as: How many were made? Who worked on the project? Who was in charge and why? How much did it cost to make? How much did it retail for? Who bought it? Where from? Like *L'Entrée Triomphante*, *The History of the Coronation of James II* was a collaborative enterprise, bringing together a range of different expertises to produce a fitting record of the occasion. The form and content of the volume were shaped by the interests and objectives of the people responsible for its production. Arguably, it was Sandford, the book's titular author and project manager, and Thomas Newcomb, its printer, who had the most at stake, as the execution of such a high-profile publication reflected on their professional capabilities.

Its project manager, Francis Sandford, then Lancaster Herald at the College of Arms, was responsible for overseeing the production of the book, and ensuring that it gave the best possible impression of the event it commemorated. Sandford's background as a herald made him the ideal candidate to oversee production of the volume, while his dual role as participant in the event he described inflected the text with a degree of professional anxiety. Under normal circumstances, the coronation was the heralds' most high-profile event, as they were responsible for marshalling participants on the ground. In 1685, for the coronation of James II, the stakes were even higher because of the challenges inherent in crowning an openly Catholic king. Here, after all, was a king who could not receive communion in the Church he swore to protect in his coronation oath. And, as

Zwicker rightly notes, 'very little of the king's disturbing religion could be gleaned directly' from the pages of *The History of the Coronation of James II.*[611]

By the time of James's coronation in 1685, Sandford had been employed by the College of Arms for over twenty years. In 1661, he had been appointed to his first job as Rouge Dragon pursuivant, before being promoted to Lancaster Herald on 16 November 1677.[612] As a long-term holder of heraldic office, Sandford had actually participated in the ceremonies he chronicled, gaining vital first-hand knowledge of royal ritual and protocol. However, although his tenure at the College of Arms had begun by 1661, Sandford did not participate in ceremonial activities for the coronation of Charles II. Instead, the previous incumbent, William Crowne, had retained the role of Rouge Dragon pursuivant at this coronation, in spite of being 'one of only a few knights pursuivant who remained active' during the Commonwealth.[613]

During his time at the College of Arms, Sandford gained a reputation for being a loyal servant of the restored Stuart monarchy, and published extensively on suitable heraldic and genealogical subjects. His first book, *A Genealogical History of the Kings of Portugal*, was published in 1662. It was an expedient translation from the French of a 1623 text by Scevole and Louis de Saincte-Marie and was intended to function as a bibliographic tribute to Charles II's new bride, Catherine of Braganza, daughter of Juan IV, late king of Portugal.[614] Sandford's other printed tributes to the Stuart monarchy also dealt with protocol, ceremonial and issues of dynastic certainty. At the king's command, Sandford had chronicled General Monck's elaborate state funeral, which took place on 29 April 1670, four months after his death on 3 January 1670.[615] This was a high-profile commission, as Monck was the man widely credited with the peaceful restoration of Charles II. Sandford's record was printed as, *The order of ceremonies used for, and at, the solemn interment of the most high, mighty and most noble Prince George duke of*

611 Zwicker, 'Francis Sandford: This History of the Coronation', p.6.

612 Sherlock, 'Sandford, Francis (1630-1694)', *DNB* [Online edn].

613 Beth S. Neman, 'Crowne, John (bap. 1641, d.1712)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6832 [accessed 30 November 2010].

614 ibid; S. M. Wynne, 'Catherine (1638-1705)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008), http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/view/article/4894 [accessed 19 Oct 2010].

615 Ronald Hutton, 'Monck , George, first duke of Albemarle (1608–1670)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18939 [accessed 19 Oct 2010].

*Albemarle* (London, 1670). Soon after his promotion to Lancaster herald on 16 November 1677, Sandford published his most ambitious and scholarly work, *A Genealogical History of the Kings of England and monarchs of Great Britain…from the conquest, anno 1066, to the year 1677* (London, 1677; reissued 1683; 2nd edn with continuations by Samuel Stebbing, 1707).[616] Both volumes were notable for the high quality of their production, which was most apparent in the twenty folio engravings that depicted Albemarle's funeral cortege.

Thomas Newcomb, who printed *The History of the Coronation of James II*, also had professional ideals and aspirations invested in the production of the volume. The title page revealed that Newcomb was 'One of His Majesties Printers'. From 11 December 1675, he had held the patent in English with another London-based publisher, Henry Hills, which granted sole license to publish, '…all Bibles, Books of Common Prayer, of all Translations, Statutes and Proclamations, for the term of 30 years.'[617] Newcomb had, in fact, died by 1681, but his widow and executrix, Ruth Raworth, continued to run the business in his name until 1716.[618]

The role of the King's Printer – or King's Printing House – during the first few decades of the seventeenth century has received considerable scholarly attention, with most recently, the AHRC-funded *King's Printer Project,* which was based at Queen Mary, University of London until 2009.[619] This was a sustained investigation of the role of the King's Printer as 'one of the central institutions of Jacobean cultural and political life', and the extent to which the King's Printer promoted royal ideology through printed products.[620] One of the project's permanent research outcomes was a book-length

616 Sherlock, 'Sandford, Francis (1630-1694)', *DNB* [Online edn].

617 CSPD, Precedents, 1. f. 123 [Whitehall].

618 'Newcomb, Thomas', *British Book Trade Index* (Birmingham: Birmingham University, 2002-10), http://www.bbti.bham.ac.uk/Detailswithsource.htm?TraderID=49986 [accessed 7 December 2010]. For more about the function of book trade patents, see also Arnold Hunt's account of their operation in the early seventeenth century. Arnold Hunt, 'Book Trade Patents, 1603-1640', in Arnold Hunt, Giles Mandelbrote and Alison Shell (eds.), with an introduction by D.F. McKenzie, *The Book Trade and Its Customers, 1450-1900* (Newcastle, Del.: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), pp.27-54.

619 For more information regarding the activities of the *King's Printer Project* at Queen Mary, University of London, see: http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/kingsprinter/index.html.

620 Matthew Reisz, 'Graham Rees, 1944-2009', *Times Higher Education Supplement* (London: TSL Education limited, 3 September 2009; on-line edn), http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/story.asp?storyCode=407975&sectioncode=26 [accessed 7 December 2010].

treatment of the subject by Rees and Wakely that put the study of ideology in the context of the conditions of manufacture and retail that shaped the production and distribution of luxury print commodities, such as fine quality editions in folio.[621]

The role of the King's Printers in the second half of the seventeenth century has yet to receive the same level of scholarly attention. However, it is possible to use some of the conclusions reached for the earlier period to frame our discussion. In particular, Rees and Wakely stress the dual function of the King's Printer, as a commercially viable enterprise and an instrument of national government. The men granted the patent in English were:

> … businessmen with an eye to the main chance. They were traders and, like all first-rate traders, knew their market inside out. They knew their actual and potential customers, and what they could sell to them and at what price. They knew their suppliers, how to obtain books which they themselves had not necessarily printed or published…They knew when and how to oil the wheels and grease patrons. But at the same time they were men constrained by the higher politics of government, state church and state propaganda- necessarily because in one way or another, all of them became indispensable instruments…of high policy.[622]

This description echoes some of the major themes running through this thesis. As with other materials we have considered, the attempt to produce a controlled, politicised message was underpinned – and undermined – by the practical realities of production. One thinks, for example, of the contestation over construction of the *échafaux* in Paris for Louis XIV's *entrée* on 26 August 1660. Ideally, preparations for the event were a show of unity, gladness and concord, but this aspect of the occasion's organisation was afflicted by conflict and disorder, as representatives from state and municipal government vied with each other for control of the scaffolds.

The books produced by the King's Printers deliberately engaged with the intellectual and, in some instances, emotional associations inherent in their products. *The History of the Coronation of James II* was no exception and was designed to have serious impact by being printed in folio, the largest, and most expensive, size of book. Its size dictated

621 Maria Wakely and Graham Rees, 'Folios Fit for a King: James I, John Bill and the King's Printers, 1616-1620', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 68, no. 3 (2005), pp.467-95.

622 Rees and Wakely, *Publishing, Politics and Culture*, p.37.

careful handling. Now, as then, it is rather cumbersome to manoeuvre, while its size prevents the reader from flicking through its pages in an offhand manner. Arguably, volumes of this kind were devised to inspire a sense of awe and wonder. As Henri-Jean Martin observes, printing formats were deliberately chosen because they were meaningful:

> [The] format of a volume could reflect its symbolic value and hint at its prospective public. Heavy folio volumes stated the durability of tradition and an intent to bring together in an exhaustive whole consecrated authors and the summas [sic] of religious, juridical, or secular knowledge.[623]

Little evidence relates specifically to the production of *The History of the Coronation of James II*. However, it is possible to use the object to make some cursory remarks about how it was made, and how much this manufacture cost. As a volume printed in folio, each copy of the book was made up of single sheets of printing paper folded once to make sections comprising two leaves. These were then printed on both sides to make four pages. In total, each copy of the book was assembled from seventy-two sheets of printing paper, folded to create one hundred and forty four folio-sized pages. These were then printed on both sides with text. In addition, the book was illustrated with thirty engraved plates – one full-page and twenty-nine double-page engravings.

In total, printing *The History of the Coronation of James II* required a minimum of one hundred and two full-sized sheets of printing paper per copy, or just over a ream of paper (480-500 sheets) per each five copies. This is, of course, a low estimate, as it fails to consider the blank sheets of paper that are found at the beginning and end of most volumes, or, indeed, the sheets of paper that were spoiled during printing. However, using Bayley's costing of the *First Folio* of Shakespeare, as cited above, a ream of Crown printing paper cost in the region of 4s 6d in 1623. It makes sense, therefore, to estimate paper for each copy of *The History of the Coronation of James II* cost approximately 10 ½d.

623 Henri-Jean Martin, *The History and Power of Writing*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1994; 1988), p.310.

There is more evidence relating to Sandford's *The Genealogical History of the Kings of England*, published in 1677, when Sandford petitioned the Lord Treasurer to receive exemption on paying customs duty on '8000 reams of Rochelle demy paper…the custom of which would amount to about 200L or the like sum as his Majesty should be pleased to appoint, which, with good management, would finish his *Genealogical History of the Kings of England*.[624] As we have seen La Rochelle paper was deemed to be the finest printing paper, attesting to the quality of the earlier volume.

**Who owned The History of the Coronation of James II?**

Adverts in contemporary newspapers give some small indication of who bought and sold *The History of the Coronation of James II*. However, it seems more than likely that the first people to receive a finished, bound copy would have been its subjects: the king and queen, James II and Mary of Modena. One can only imagine the moment when Sandford finally presented James and Mary with the product of over eighteen months of his hard work, but other evidence suggests that his record of the coronation was warmly received. Most obviously Sandford was paid £300 for his efforts, a sum that barely covered the costs he'd incurred during production.[625] Moreover, Mary of Modena was reputed to have given to Sandford a gift of a cup and lid, now in the collection of Goldsmiths' Company, London, as a token of royal gratitude.[626]

A year after the volume's initial publication, the following announcement appeared in the London Gazette in May 1688:

These are to give Notice, that Francis Sandford Esq, Lancaster Herald, having (by his Majesty's Special Command) finished the History of their Majesties Coronation, Illustrated with many Curious Sculptures, and Presented several of the Nobility therewith, hath taken care to reserve Choice Books for the rest of the Nobility that

624 CSPD, Entry Book 37, p.115 [Windsor].

625 Sherlock, Sandford, Francis (1630-1694)', *DNB* [Online edn].

626 Tessa Murdoch, 'A Silver-gilt cup Commemorating the Coronation of James II', *V&A Online Journal*, 2 (Autumn 2009), http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/journals/research-journal/issue-02/a-silver-gilt-cup-commemorating-the-coronation-of-james-ii/ [accessed 10 September 2011].

please to send to him at his House in Great Russel-street in Bloomsbury, or to Mr. King at the Heralds Office near Doctors Commons, London.[627]

The phrasing, here, suggests that only the most select group of insiders were allowed to obtain access to the volume on its publication, with copies purchased by appointment from Sandford directly, or, via Gregory King, from his place of employment, the 'Heralds Office'.

By 4 April 1689, *The History of the Coronation of James II* could still be bought from Sandford and King, but was also available through a larger number of commercial booksellers, many of whom were located in London's bookselling heartlands:

The History of the Coronation of the late King James the Second and Queen Mary, Printed Anno 1687 (being the precedent in many particulars intended to be followed at the ensuing Coronation,) it is to be had at Mr. Hofman's Shop in Westminster Hall, Mr. Notts in the Pall Mall, Mr Wilkinsons over against St. Dunstans Church in Fleet-street, Mr. Clavels at the Peacock in St. Pauls Church yard, and Mr. Hornes at the South Door of the Royal Exchange, and at Several other Booksellers, As also at Mr Sandfords in Great Russel-street in Bloomsbury, and at Mr. Kings at the Heralds Office near Doctors Commons, London.[628]

After James's exile, *The History of the Coronation of James II* appears to have been sold by a much wider group of people. In the weeks before the coronation of William and Mary on 11 April 1689, it was advertised in contemporary newspapers.[629] By 1718, it had become a recognised part of the fine-printing canon, with booksellers' adverts routinely marking it out as, 'Sandford's Coronation of King James II'.[630]

The individual histories of surviving copies also give some sense of who owned *The History of the Coronation of James II*. The following discussion does not pretend to be exhaustive. Instead, it accounts for surviving copies of the book in libraries in the United Kingdom, France and North America. To date, I have managed to locate 60 copies of the

627 Thursday 3 May 1688, *London Gazette* (London, England); issue 2344. One presumes that announcements also appeared at the time of publication in 1687, but I have not been able to locate any thus far.

628 Thursday 4 April 1689, *London Gazette* (London, England); issue 2442.

629 Monday 8 April 1689, *London Gazette* (London, England); issue 2443.

630 Saturday 31 January 1719, *Weekly Packet* (London, England); issue 344; Tuesday 3 February 1718, *Post Boy* (1695); issue 4607; Tuesday 3 February 1719, *Evening Post* (1709) (London, England); issue 1484; Thursday 5 February 1718, *Post Boy* (1695) (London, England); issue 4608; Saturday 7 February 1718, *Post Boy* (1695) (London, England); issue 4609.

book in 41 libraries. Admittedly, this is a low estimate that only takes into account copies of Sandford's *History of the Coronation of James II* cited in the *English Short Title Catalogue* or in the collections of the scholarly and specialist libraries that are covered by major integrated on-line catalogues like *Copac* and *Catalogue collectif de France*. Regrettably at this stage, this survey does not include volumes in private collections or smaller academic institutions in North America or the UK. Moreover, it will not give a proper sense of the distribution of Sandford's *History* in libraries and collections throughout Continental Europe.

Unsurprisingly, in light of its subject matter, the majority of the books considered by this thesis are in the UK, with 32 copies distributed across the collections of 25 libraries and museums.[631] An additional 17 copies of the book can be found in collections in North America.[632] Holdings in France are substantially smaller, with 11 copies of the book owned by just three libraries. Significantly, 6 of the copies are in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Additional copies are in the collections of Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France and in the Bibliothèque de Toulouse. It must be stressed, however, that such a focused distribution most likely reflects the limitation of the sample.

What can one possibly tell from a list of libraries? The most basic level of analysis would suggest that a comparatively large number of *The History of the Coronation of James II* have survived to become part of the most prestigious scholarly libraries in the world. Copies of the book were part of major royal collections, which became the core of major national libraries, such as the British Library in London or Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris. One such copy of the book was part of the so-called King's Library, built

631 These can be found in: Aberdeen University Library; the Bodleian Library, Oxford; British Library; the University Library, Cambridge; the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; St John's College Library, Cambridge; the Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge; Canterbury Cathedral Library; Chetham's Library, Manchester; the Courtauld Institute Library, London; Durham University Library; Durham Cathedral Library; Guildhall Library, London; John Ryland's Library, University of Manchester; Lambeth Palace Library, London; Leeds Central Library; Leicester University Library; National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; the Sir John Soane's Museum, London; Society of Antiquaries, London; University College, London; National Art Library, Victoria & Albert Museum, London; Westminster Abbey; Worcester Cathedral Library and York Minster Library.

632 These can be found in: the Bridwell Library, Southern Methodist University; the William Clark Memorial Library, UCLA; the Folger Shakespeare Library; the Getty Research Institute; the Houghton Library, Harvard; Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanic Gardens; the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Library of Congress; Newberry Library, Chicago; New York Public Library; Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas; Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin; Toronto Public Library and the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale.

up during the reign of George III, which was donated to the nation by his son, George IV, in 1823, to form the working scholarly library housed at the British Museum until 1998.[633]

Four copies of Sandford's *History of the Coronation of James II* can be linked to contemporary owners, who were all connected to libraries at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Henry Firebrace, a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge from 1674, donated his copy to the college library, now better known at the Wren Library. This puts the date of acquisition somewhere between the book's publication in 1687 and Firebrace's death in 1708.[634] The copy of Sandford's *History* in the University Library (U.L.), Cambridge, was part of the 'Royal Library', which had been amassed by John Moore, Bishop of Ely, one of the foremost book-collectors of his day.[635] At his death in 1714, the library comprised almost 28,965 books and 1,790 manuscripts. It was sold to George I for £6450, who gave it to the University of Cambridge in recognition of their loyalty to the Hanoverian dynasty, where it was named in honour of its royal donor.[636]

The other two copies of Sandford's *History* with links to contemporary owners are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Both were acquired in the early 1690s. The first, as part of the library of Thomas Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, was bequeathed to the University of Oxford upon his death in 1691.[637] The second had been in the collection of the antiquarian Elias Ashmole, who left his books to the University of Oxford after his death in 1692. The books were subsequently transferred to the Bodleian Library in 1860.[638]

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633 Graham Jefcoate, 'Most Curious, Splendid and Useful: the King's Library of George III', Kim Sloan with Andrew Burnett (eds.), *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century* (London: British Museum, 2003), pp.38-45.

634 Stephen Wright, 'Firebrace, Sir Henry (1619/20-1691)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009), http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/view/article/9480 [accessed 18 November 2010].

635 Peter Meadows, 'Moore, John (1646-1714), bishop of Ely', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/view/article/19126?docPos=10 [accessed 18 November 2010].

636 McKitterick, David, *Cambridge University Library: A History, vol. 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); Ringrose, Jayne, 'The Royal Library: John Moore and his books' in P. Fox (ed.), *Cambridge University Library: the Great Collections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.78-89.

637 John Spurr, 'Barlow, Thomas (1608/9-1691)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/view/article/1439?docPos=2 [accessed 18 November 2010].

638 R.T. Gunter, 'The Ashmole printed books', *Bodleian Quarterly Record 6* (1930), pp.193-5; Michael Hunter, 'Ashmole, Elias (1617-1692), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006), http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/view/article/764?docPos=2 [accessed 18 November 2010].

Significantly, in the earlier part of his career Ashmole had actually contributed to a work of festival literature, writing an account of the coronation of Charles II that was published in 1662 as *A Brief Narrative of His Majestie's Solemn Coronation*.

We can trace the history of three additional copies of Sandford's *History* back to the eighteenth century, although none can be linked to named owners. An *ex libris* note on the front free end-papers of one of the two copies held by the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh suggests that it was once part of the Library of the Faculty of Advocates in 1726.[639] (The latter's non-legal collections were given to the nation in 1925.)[640] Likewise, the copy in Westminster Abbey had become part of the library there by 1726 at the very latest, as it appeared in the manuscript library catalogue compiled at that date.[641] Chetham's Library in Manchester acquired its copy at some point after 1700.[642] As *The History of the Coronation* was listed in its first printed catalogue, published in 1791, we can assume it had entered the library's collection by this date.[643]

In summary, the evidence shows that seven copies of *The History of the Coronation of James II* can be linked to owners, donors or library collections in the hundred years immediately after its publication. The copies that can be linked to named individuals were part of collections that were considered by contemporaries to have outstanding scholarly importance. These patterns of ownership reflected the high quality of the volume, as well as the significance of the event it commemorated.

639 National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, C.12.a.7.

640 *National Library of Scotland Act 1925*, 1925 c.73, (HMSO, 1925; online edn [n.d]), http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo5/15-16/73/enacted [accessed 19 November 2010].

641 Westminster Abbey Library, London, MS 48, 143r.

642 Chetham's Library, Manchester has acquisition records for all books acquired before 1700. This documentation was the subject of a doctoral thesis: Matthew Yeo, 'The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library, 1655-1700: A Case Study in the Distribution and Reception of Texts in the English Provinces in the late Seventeenth Century', 2 vols. (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Manchester, 2009). Documentation from the eighteenth century also survives, but this has yet to be subject to the same systematic analysis. As producing a full bibliographic profile of Sandford's *History of the Coronation* is not the main thrust of this thesis, delving further into the archives at Chetham's Library was regarded as unnecessary at this time.

643 *Bibliotheca Chethamensis: sive Bibliothecae Publicae Mancuniensis Ab Humfredo Chetham Armigero Fundatae Catalogus, Exhibens Libros in Varias Classes Pro Varietate Argumenti Distributos. Quanta Potuit Fide at Diligentia Edidit J. Radcliffe A.M. Bibliothecae Supra Dicte Custos, Ac Collegii AENEI Nasi Apud Oxonienses Socius*, vol. 1 (Manchester: J. Harrop, 1791), p.331.

**Section III**

**Chapter 4**

## Representational Strategies: Symbols, Cities and Spectators

The final part of this thesis will consider some key representational strategies used in festival literature to preserve events in their best light. Where the performance and experience of festival was plural and fragmentary, visual images and textual descriptions attempted to impose a level of control on the interpretation of events that was not possible in the 'real' world. How festivals were rendered on paper was also suggestive of how events were meant to be experienced. The reader of *L'Entrée Triomphante*, or *The History of the Coronation* was effectively presented with the ideal version of Louis's *entrée* or James's coronation, uninhibited by the contestation or compromise that had characterised the preparations made before the events, and unaffected by the uncontrollable factors that could mark – or mar – performances.

In order to tease out the relationship between the print commodity and the ideas of preparation and performance, the discussion will consider three representational strategies. These first is the presentation of symbolic and allegorical aspects of props and scenery in Sherwin and Collin's engraving of the firework display for the coronation of James II. **(Fig.25.)** The second is the remodelling of the early modern city in print to become a suitable site for celebration. The third is the representation of spectators in images of festival. In each instance, the spatial and temporal dimensions of the events were rigorously controlled. Unlike in the performances, which were located in the real early modern city, and by extension in real space and time, festival in print created an ideal celebratory city in which it was no longer possible to be out of place or time.

**Rhetoric and Clarity in *The History of the Coronation of James II***

Many of the images used to illustrate the *History of the Coronation of James II* showed little concern for precise details of place and location. In common with other representations of festival, these engravings eschewed naturalistic topographical detail, instead choosing to highlight the occasion's ritual paraphernalia and participants. This was particularly apparent in William Sherwin's two double-page plates of the coronation's regalia. **(Fig.40.)** The images showcased in fine-grain detail the most important ritual objects associated with the occasion. These were the items that were closest to the king's body and included the special clothing worn or carried during the ceremony, such as the crown, orb and sceptre.

To modern eyes, the plates showcasing the regalia display are reminiscent of the clothes and accessories designed to accompany a cut-out paper doll. This unintentionally comic effect was a consequence of Sherwin's decision to show each individual component floating in space, unfettered by a depiction of a wearer or additional topographical information. (The depiction of both buskins and sandals on either side of the swords used during the coronation ritual is particularly amusing.) This was only compounded by the decision to show each individual object as if was completely flat, with little effort made to suggest substance or depth by means of shading or use of perspective. The exception being the presentation of King Edward's Chair 'in which his Majestie was Crowned', which was shown side on to give some sense of three-dimensionality.

The straightforward presentation of this material worked to rhetorical effect, as the engravings isolated, then emphasised those aspects of the design of a performance that were deemed to be most significant. In this instance, showing James's coronation regalia was an attempt to reinforce the legitimacy of his kingship. The engraving produced to commemorate the firework display to celebrate the coronation of James II in April 1685 also exemplified the rhetoric of clarity by showcasing those aspects of the event's design that conveyed its political agenda. **(Fig.25.)** The composition and cropping of the picture emphasised the large-format props and scenery, which had been specially

devised for the occasion. The fireworks, by contrast, were relegated to a supporting role and fulfilled a decorative function, being shown as a series of regular patterns that framed and enhanced the carefully rendered scenery.

As evidence, this image gives a markedly different account of the firework display from other sources already considered in this thesis. One need only think of Aubrey's apocalyptic literary description, in which the fireworks 'took fire altogether, and it was so dreadful, that several spectators leap'd into the River choosing rather to be drown'd than burn'd.'[644] Or, indeed, the sense of disorder behind payments made by the Ordnance's messenger, Adam Bell, to cover the costs of 'Provisions & Lodgings' for the men injured as an unexpected consequence of the display.[645]

It is a simple contrast, but the world of difference between Sherwin and Collin's rigorously controlled engraving and the disorder that characterised the other types of evidence clearly illustrates what this type of image was meant to do: render the event in its best light for posterity. It offered a fixed, finalised version of the firework display, which excised the chaos, confusion and, in some cases, abject terror that had characterised the actual performance. The firework display was subject to a radical reinterpretation through which it was transformed into being the stable embodiment of the occasion's explicative and commemorative agendas.

As we saw in Section I, the Office of Ordnance, under the supervision of Martin Beckman, had organised the display, and their records confirmed that most of the apparatus illustrated by Sherwin and Collins had actually been made. '2 statues', costing £39 10s 11d, had been built and painted 'according to contract'.[646] An anonymous worked had received £03 for 'painting 6 swanns'.[647] Two blacksmiths were paid to make in iron the mottos that appeared above the figures in the engraving: Richard Ashworth received £02 08s for making 'SOL OCCUBUIT', while Thomas White was paid

644 Aubrey, *Miscellanies*, pp.40–1.

645 N.R.A, London, W/O 51-30, 30 July 1685 [n.p.].

646 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-30, 6 May 1685, no.8, no.39.

647 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-30, 6 May 1685, no.15.

£02 11s for 'SECUTA EST'.[648] 'Mr. Mews' was paid £07 12s 06d for '[iron] plate for the Pedestalls and Rocket boxes'.[649] And finally, Elizabeth Hudson was paid £04 16s for the 12lb of 'tinn file' that was used to cover 'his Ma[jestie]s name, crown and sunn'.[650]

The detail in this archival evidence suggests that the engraving was, in part, a fairly accurate representation of the scenic devices that were devised for the firework display. However, early modern festival in print was a distinctive experience and must be treated as such. This is not to suggest that it was completely separate from the performances and events, but to acknowledge that representations in textual descriptions and visual images constituted an experience in their own right. The engraving of the firework display for the coronation of James II in 1685 permitted an unrivalled view of props and scenery, while the actual firework display was staged on a series of barges that were moored in the middle of the River Thames. At this distance, one imagines that even the spectacle's main audience, the royal party, would not have been able to construe the occasion's symbolic programme with the same clarity and ease bestowed on the print's spectator. The thrilling distraction of pyrotechnic sound and light effects, along with the smoke produced by the fireworks as they were detonated, would have provided further impediment to visibility.

The engraving, by comparison, provided a view of this content that was completely unencumbered by smoke and fire, and which provided its spectator with a close-up view of the occasion's props and scenery. It is worth dwelling momentarily on the complexity of the political message, as this will emphasise just how much information was packed into the engraving's composition, and, by extension, how much meaning was potentially lost during the firework display. As befit the beginning of a new reign, the event's scenic devices were intended to function as a visual manifesto, and signalled James's attitude toward his kingship. The aesthetic of the engraving was determined by the meaningfulness inherent in each part of the display's scenic apparatus, with each entity contributing to the forceful visual statement that was being made about the

648 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-30, 6 May 1685, no.47, no.48.

649 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-30, 6 May 1685, no.55.

650 N.R.A., London, W/O 51-30, 6 May 1685, no.56.

character of later Stuart royal power. Most noticeably, the image was dominated by decorative motifs that were strongly associated with an absolutist conception of kingship, with a sun, imperial crown and two obelisks shown at the centre of the composition. There was also there was overlap in the design of the firework display and the visual strategies employed in the decoration of James's coronation medal. On its reverse, a laurel wreath was shown resting on a cushion, while a hand emerged from the clouds above this, holding an imperial crown.

These hallmarks of royal power were part of a wider European tradition. The sun, which was at the very centre of Sherwin and Collin's engraving of the firework display, had particular resonance for a contemporary audience, as it was most readily associated with Louis XIV. Louis had first appeared in the guise of 'Le Roi Soleil' in 1653, when he had danced the part of Apollo, the Greek god whose attribute the sun was, in the *Ballet Royal de la Nuict*.[651] Thereafter, Apollonian imagery became a key part of his personal iconography. Through its relation to Louis, deployment of sun motifs came to function as shorthand for an absolutist conception of royal power.

The ways in which other seventeenth and early eighteenth-century rulers appropriated Apollonian imagery demonstrates the flexibility of symbols of power, and suggests the celebratory contexts in which its use was most appropriate. Its deployment was seemingly tied to those moments where intense focus was on the institution of kingship, such as the coronation, as in the case of James, or the accession, or coming of age of a young monarch. Louis's first appearance in the guise of 'Le Roi Soleil' can be related to the final defeat of the *Frondeurs* in 1653, and the reassertion of royal power.[652] David Klöcher Ehrenstrahl painting of Karl XI of Sweden as Apollo Pythias (1670-71) showed another teenage ruler on the threshold of maturity. As well as providing a symbolic representation of kingship, the portrait also recorded a real event, as it showed a

651 Gruber, Alain, 'The Ballet Royal de la Nuict: a masque at the court of Louis XIV', *Apollo*, vol. 386 (March-June 1994), pp.34-40.
652 Joanna Norman, 'Baroque Art and Design for the Theatre', *Baroque: Style in the Age of Magnificence, 1620-1800*, pp.153-4.

costume really worn by the young king when he danced in a ballet to celebrate his fifteenth birthday on 25 November 1670.[653]

Augustus II, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, was even more emphatic in his deployment of Apollonian imagery. In 1709, an elaborate programme of festivities marked a visit to the Saxon court in Dresden of Augustus's brother-in-law, Frederick IV of Denmark.[654] As part of the *Procession of the Gods*, Augustus had taken on the role of Apollo, wearing an imposing sun-shaped mask, which had been modelled on the king's own features by the Saxon court's most celebrated goldsmith, Johann Melchior Dinglinger. This mask functioned 'less as a disguise than as a means of glorifying him [Augustus] as a god'. [655] Visitors to the *Rüstkammer*, part of the *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen* in Dresden, can still come face to face with Augustus's mask. Even crammed into a vitrine with numerous other objects, it makes a disconcerting spectacle – its lifelike depiction of Augustus in tension with the inexpressiveness of the gilded copper used to make it.

To return to the engraving of the fireworks display for the coronation of James II, this engraving did more than assemble generic symbols of royal power. The cipher, shown below the sun and imperial crown, was a personal emblem composed of the letters 'J. M. R.' to combine James's initial with that of his queen consort, Mary of Modena. (The 'R' in the cipher designated both 'Rex' and 'Regina'.) Personal ciphers illustrate the extent to which generic emblematic figures could be adapted subtly to create particularised meanings. Arguably, this is the crux of the matter in any discussion of early modern 'languages' of symbol and allegory.[656]

653 Eva-Lena Karlsson, 'Charles XI of Sweden as Apollo Pythias', *Baroque: Style in the Age of Magnificence 1620-1800*, p.338.
654 Claudia Schnitzer, 'The Festivities of Augustus the Strong', *Baroque: Style in the Age of Magnificence 1620 -1800*, p.178.
655 ibid.
656 For more about the value placed on deployment of emblematic devices, and customary and conventional wisdom in the early modern period, see: Peter M. Daly (ed.) *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition* (New York, 1988); Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London, 1994); Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

The image's two largest figurative devices provide further evidence of the ways standardised symbolic devices could be tailored to meet the needs of the occasion. Both were adapted from emblems in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, one of the period's most widely referenced compendiums of allegorical and symbolic figures. The first edition of the *Iconologia* was published in Rome in 1593.[657] The first illustrated edition was produced in 1603, and included the distinctive woodcuts that were to become the volume's most distinctive feature.[658] It was followed by four more Italian language editions of the book in the seventeenth century alone, with editions published in 1611, 1613, 1625 and 1645.[659] The *Iconologia* was translated into French (1643), Dutch (1644) and German (1669).[660] An English version of the text finally became available in 1709 under the aegis of printseller Pierce Tempest.[661]

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657 Ripa, Cesare, *Iconologia overo descrittione dell'imagini vniversali cavate dall'antichita et da altri lvoghi da Cesare Ripa Perugino. Opera non meno vtile che necessaria à Poeti, Pittori, & Scultori, per rappresentare le uirtù, affetti, & passioni humane* (Rome: G. Gigliotti, 1593).

658 Ripa, Cesare, *Iconologia overo descrittione di diverse imagini cauate dall'antichità, & di propria inuentione, trouate, & dichiarate da Cesare Ripa Pervgino, Caualiere de Santi Maurito, & Lazaro. Di nuouo reuista, & dal medesimo ampliata di 400 & più imagini. Et di Figure d intaglio adornata. Opera non meno vtile che necessaria a Poeti, Pittori, Scultori, & altri, per rappresentare le Virtù, Vitij, Affetti, & Passioni humane* (Rome: Lepido Facij, 1603).

659 *Iconologia, overo descrittione d'imagini delle Virtù, Vitij, Affetti, Passioni humane, Corpi celesti, Mondo e sue parti. Opera di Cesare Ripa Perugino Caualliere de' Santi Mauritio, & Lazaro. Fatica necessaria ad Oratorio, Predicatori, Poeti, Formatori d'Emblemi, & d'Imprese, Scultori, Pittori, Dissegnatori, Rappresentatori, Architetti, & Diuisatori d'Apparati; Per figurare con I suoi proprij simboli totto quello, che può cadere in pensiero humano. Di nouo in quest'vltima Editione corretta diligentemente, & accresciuta di sessanta e più figure poste a luoghi loro: Aggionteni copiosissime Tauole per solleuamento del Lettore, dedicate all'illustrissimo signore il Signor Roberto Obici* (Padua: Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1611); *Della Novissima Iconologia di Cesare Ripa Pervgino Caualier de SS. Maurito, & Lazzaro. Parte Prima. Nella quale si descriuono diuerse Imagini di Virtù, Vitij, Affetti, Passioni humane, Arti, Discipline, Humori, Elementi, Corpi Celeste, Prouincie d'Italia, Fiumi tutte le parti del Mondo, & alter infinite materie. Opera Vtile ad Oratori, Predicatori, Poeti, Pittori, Scultori, Disegnatori, & ad'ogni studioso. Per inuentar Concetti, Emblemi, ed'Imprese, Per diuisare qual si voglia apparato Nutiale, Funerale, Trionfale, Per rappresentar Poemi Drammatici, e per figuare co'suoi proprij simboli ciò, che può cadere in pensiero humano. Ampliata In quest vltima Editione non solo dallo stesso Auttore di Trecento, e cinquatadue Imagini, con molti discorsi pieni di varia eruditione, & con molti Indici copiosi, Ma ancora arrichita d'altre Imagini, discorsi, & esquisita corretione dal Sig. Gio. Zaratino Castellini Romano* (Padua: Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1625); *Iconologia di Cesare Ripa Pervgino Cavalier di SS Mavritio et [sic] Lazaro. Divisa in Tre Libri Ne I quail si esprimono varie Imagini di Virtù, Vitij, Affetti, Passioni humane, Arti, Discipline, Humori, Elementi, Corpi Celesti, Prouincie d'Italia, Fiumi, & alter materie infinite vtili ad ogni stato di Persone. Ampliata Sal Sig. Cav. Gio. Zaratino. Castellini Romano in questa vltima editione di Imagini, & Discorsi, con Indici copiosi, & ricorretta* (Venice: Cristoforo Tomasini, 1645). To distinguish between different Italian-language editions of the book, all subsequent citations will consist of the book's short title, *Iconologia*, and the date of publication.

660 *Iconologia, of uytbeeldingen des Verstands: van Cesare Ripa van Perugien, Ridder van SS. Mauritius en Lazzaro. Waer in Versceiden af beeldingen van Deughden, Ondeughden, Genegentheden, Menschlijcke Hertztochten, Konsten, Leeringen, Sinlijckheden, Elementen, Hemelsche Lichamen, Landschappen can Italien, Revieren van alle deelen des Werrelts, en alle andere ontallijcke stoffen, met hare verklaringen, werden verhandelt. Een wreck dat dienstigh is, allen Reedenaers, Poëten, schilders, Beeldhouwers, Teyckenaers, en alle andere Konst-beminders en Liefhebbers der Geleertheyt en eerlijcke Wetenschappen. Om uyt te drucken, en te vinden, 't Begrip van alle Sinnebeelden, Invallen, Devijsen of Sinyetkenen. Oock om te spreecken, Van allerleye tocrusingen, 't zy op Bruyloften, Lijckstaetien en*

Visually, the figure on the left of the composition was an exact translation of Ripa's 'Amor della Patria' (which translates roughly as 'Love of the Homeland'). The emblem, first appearing in the 1613 edition of the *Iconologia*, showed a bearded man wearing Roman-style armour with a plumed helmet.[662] However, the version of the figure that appeared in the coronation firework display was captioned, 'PATER PATRIÆ', which literally means, 'Father of the Fatherland'. Tempest's *Moral Emblems* rendered the Italian as 'Love of Our Country', a translation with Republican undertones – arguably the substitution of 'Pater Patriæ' was, perhaps, an attempt to communicate a more authoritarian vision of rule.[663]

The occasion's other symbolic figure, 'MONARCHIA', was, again, a rather loose interpretation of a figure from the *Iconologia*. It roughly tallied with the emblem for 'Monarchia Mondana' ('Wordly Monarchy'), which was a:

> A young Lady, of a haughty Look, in Armour; a Diamond at her Breast, and has her Head encompassed with Splendid Rays; Golden Socks on her legs, set with precious stones: She has three Scepters in her Hand; where is a Scroul, OMNIBUS UNUS. On her right Side a Lion and a Serpent on her left. Prisoners crown'd chain'd and prostrate; with Trophies.[664]

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*Zeege-feesten. Mede om te vertoonen de Gedichten de Tonneelspeelders, en om uyt te beelden, met haere eygene teyckenen, al het gene, eenighsins, in der Menschen gedachte, kan vallen. Verrijckt met veele Beeldnessen en geestige geleerde overwegingen, door de uytnemende verbeteringe van Giov. Zaratino Castellini Romano. uyt het Italiens vertaelt door D. P. Pers* (Amsterdam: Dirck Pieterz Pers, 1644); *Herrn Caesaris Ripa ... erneurte Iconologia oder Bilder-Sprach ... Anfangs vom besagten Urheber Italienisch beschrieben, und in dieser letsten Edition mit ... Aussbildern, beneben denen so Herr Zaratin Castellini ... Nunmehr aber in unsere hochteutsche Mutter-Sprach übersetzt von L.S.D.* (Frankfurt: Wilhelm Serlins, 1669)*; Iconologie, ou la Science des emblèmes, devises, etc., qui apprend à les appliquer et inventer. Ouvrage Tres Utile aux Orateurs, Poëtes, Peintres, Sculptures, Graveurs, & generalement à toutes sortes de Curieux des Beaux Arts et des Sciences. Enriche & augmentée d'un grand nombre de Figures avec des moralités, tirées la plupart de Cesar Ripa*, trans. by Jean Beudoin (Amsterdam: A. Braakman, 1698).

661 Pierce Tempest, *Iconologia: or Moral Emblems, by Cesare Ripa. Wherein are Express'd, Various Images of virtues, Vices, Passions, Arts, Humours, Elements and Celestial Bodies; As Design'd by The Ancient Egyptians, Greeks, Romans and Modern Italians: Useful For Orators, Poets, Painters, Scultptors, and all Lovers of Ingenuity: Illustrated with Three Hundred Twenty-Six Humane Figures, With their Explanations; Newly design'd, and engraven on Copper, by I. Fuller, Painter, And other Masters* (London: B. Motte, 1709).

662 Ripa, *Iconologia* (1613), p.36.

663 Tempest, *Iconologia: or Moral Emblems*, p.5. F.M. O'Donoghue, rev. Antony Griffiths, 'Tempest, Pierce (1653-1717), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/view/article/27108 [accessed 8 December 2010].

664 Tempest, *Iconologia: or Moral Emblems*, p.54.

The figure in Sherwin and Collins' print was clearly a bearded man, and not a woman, contradicting the evidence of the first edition of Ripa's *Iconologia* to include 'Monarchia Mondana', as published in 1645, where the figure was described as a 'Donna giouane', or 'young woman'.[665] In all other respects, however, the depiction of 'MONARCHIA' matched Tempest's description.

The presentation of symbolic devices in Sherwin and Collin's engraving of fireworks for the coronation of James II was hardly unique. Representations of other firework displays in London put just as much emphasis on emblematic design. Bernard II Lens's mezzotint of the firework display celebrating the birth of the Prince of Wales in 1688 also showcased its symbolic and allegorical devices, as did two depictions of firework displays to celebrate the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 by Sir James Thornhill and Lens. **(Figs. 4., 33., 41.)** The composition of the mezzotint showing the 1688 fireworks was practically identical to that employed in Collins and Sherwin's etching of the firework display for the coronation. Again, the occasion's large-format 'statues', yet more quotations from Ripa, and the hallmarks of royal power were clearly visible, while the fireworks fell into line. **(Fig.4.)** Likewise, both Thornhill and Lens's representations provided unrivalled access to the event's iconographical design, effecting a radical reinterpretation of the firework display as a performance. **(Figs. 33., 41.)**

The range of illustrative material and the order it was arranged also contributed to the rhetoric of clarity in *The History of the Coronation of James II*. By means of the illustrative plates, the reader was given enough information to piece together the events of the coronation. However, this version of the occasion was subject to rigorous editorial control, with key moments from the day picked out, isolated and emphasised in a series of engraved plates. In addition to perspective views of Westminster Abbey and Westminster Hall, this content included maps and ground plans. As a suite of images, the views, maps and ground plans made explicit the links between place and specific ritual actions during the ceremony, such as the presentation of the regalia to the

665 *Iconologia* (1645), p.415.

king in Westminster Hall, the actual coronation in Westminster Abbey and finally, the coronation feast, which was, again, in Westminster Hall.

The first map gave the reader a solid grounding in the geography of the coronation. It showed 'part of the Citty of Westminster' and effectively functioned as a political topography of the area. **(Fig.42.)** The caption to the map was a litany of spaces associated with operations of secular and divine state power, comprising, 'Westminster-Abby (or the Collegiate Church of St. Peter), Westminster-Hall, The Court of Wards, Court of Requests, Painted Chamber, House of Lords and Princes Lodgings, The Old & New Palace-Yard, [and] The Great Sanctuary.' Significantly, the map also attempted to give permanent form to some of the occasional apparatus associated with the coronation by delineating:

> …the Way from the Hall to the Church, as it was spread with Cloth and Railed in; and the Several Stations in which his Majesties Troops of Horse and Regiments of FootGuards were posted on both sides of the said Rail.[666]

Further engravings by Sherwin and Samuel Moore enhanced this sense of place by showing prospect views of some of the coronation's key locations: the Collegiate Church of St Peter in Westminster, popularly known as Westminster Abbey, and Westminster Hall. **(Fig.43.)** Significantly, the *History of the Coronation* included multiple views of the interior of Westminster Abbey, which reflected the importance of the moment when James was actually crowned. The first showed the interior of Westminster Abbey from its western prospect before the ceremony had taken place, with the event's spectators already crowded into the temporary boxes erected on either side of the temporary platform built for the coronation. **(Fig.44.)**

The function of this engraving, with the palpable absence of the performance, was to encourage anticipation for the ritual of the coronation, which was the explicit function of the next plate in the series. **(Fig. 45.)** This showed the moment that James was crowned with St. Edward's Crown from the prospect of the high altar in the Abbey's east. The final image in the sequence, also from the vantage point of the high altar,

666 Sandford, *History of the Coronation of James II*, [between pp.64-5].

showed 'The Inthronization of Their Majesties King James the Second and Queen Mary'. **(Fig.46.)** These three images reduced the coronation ritual to the moments immediately before, during and after James being crowned, which makes quite a contrast with Samuel Pepys's account in his diary of sitting in the stands from 4 am, waiting for Charles II to arrive at his coronation in April 1661. In this instance, the king and his entourage did not arrive until 11 am, meaning Pepys waited some seven hours for the coronation ceremony to actually begin.

The engravings of place in the *History of the Coronation of James II* reinforced the links between time and space.[667] The coronation was effectively reduced to a series of key episodes and locations that the reader was brought through in chronological order, fostering in the reader a sense of anticipation, as we draw ever closer to the spectacle of James and Mary enthroned. As in the presentation of the regalia and the firework display's scenic apparatus, the volume's rhetoric of clarity had a legitimising function, and emphasised those aspects of the coronation that had been conducted properly in an attempt to draw our attention from the troubling matter of James's Catholicism.

**Modelling the Ideal Celebratory City**

Festival books transformed the early modern city by means of visual images and textual descriptions, making it a site fit for important ritual performances and celebrations. This section will consider the representation of the spaces in which festival took place and, in particular, how artists dealt with the design challenges posed by the early modern city. In practice, this meant enhancing the appearance of the temporary structures built for occasions, and excising those aspects of urban life – crowds, traffic congestion, filth and ordure – that could compromise the ideal celebratory city. Prestige festival publications reflected the importance of occasional architecture, as the most visible and carefully designed manifestation of major urban celebrations. *L'Entrée Triomphante* was lavishly illustrated with full-page engravings of the event's large-format triumphal architecture. It also featured images of Porte Saint-Antoine and Pont

667 For a stimulating analysis of the relationship between time and space in festival literature, see: William A. McClung, 'A Place for Time: The Architecture of Festivals and Theaters', *Architecture and its Images: Four Centuries of Architectural Representations* (Montreal: Canadian Center for Architecture, 1989), pp.88-92.

Notre-Dame, permanent landmarks that were restored at great expense in the months before the entry. **(Figs. 14., 15.)** Each plate was accompanied by a substantial textual description that elaborated on the symbolic value of each part of the monument. Text and image produced a double reinforcement of the occasion's ideological agendas by showing and then describing each part of the *entrée*'s conceptual design to an international audience of print spectators.

Before analysing individual representations of the occasional architecture, it is necessary to tackle the wider narrative structures that shaped *L'Entrée Triomphante*. In common with texts with a similar function, such as *The History of the Coronation of James II* and Ogilby's *Entertainment of Charles II*, it displayed an obsessive attention to order and detail, both in terms of the language it used and the extent to which it employed strict division and subdivision in its account of each aspect of the *entrée*'s performances, rituals and design. The emphasis on location created a narrative in which the spatial and temporal were explicitly linked. Paris was effectively treated as a literary conceit, with key performances and architectural features introduced into the text in the order they had been experienced on the day of the *entrée*. Progression through Paris, rendered as a series of symbolic locations, both defined and constrained the narrative. Effectively, the reader was taken on a virtual tour of the city that began to the east of the walls in the Faubourg Saine-Antoine, before being taken under Porte Saint-Antoine, past Hôtel Beauvais, into Place Baudoyer, over Pont Notre-Dame, through Marché-Neuf and Place Dauphine, before reaching the courtyard of Palais du Louvre.

Most of Tronçon's text dealt with the topographically restricted area, as defined by the four days of festivities that began on 26 August 1660 with the *entrée*, and concluded with the firework display on the River Seine on 29 August 1660. However, other places did encroach on this straitened narrative by means of references to the thirteen months Louis had spent on progress with his new bride, or the time the court spent at the Château de Fontainebleau while Paris prepared for the *entrée*. Again, the spatial and temporal were intrinsically linked. Inclusion of these preliminary events fostered a reading experience that mimicked the build up in excitement akin to the anticipation of the event itself.

In terms of their composition and format, the representations of the triumphal arches in *L'Entrée Triomphante* had a great deal in common with those found in contemporary architectural treatises. Each individual structure was shown as an isolated entity, without reference to recognisable landmarks or other permanent structures. The notable exceptions were those images that showed how permanent spaces such as *Place Dauphine* and *Pont Nôtre-Dame* had been decorated. Here, Marot and Lepautre's engravings showed permanent, built spaces that framed the *entrée*'s ephemeral props and scenery. **(Figs. 14., 34.)** In both scenes, the subject matter, the embellishment of an existing place, meant that they were impossible to produce without reference to topographical setting.

Significantly, both Marot and Lepautre stressed ephemeral architecture's three-dimensionality. Both engravers chose to communicate vertical and horizontal information about the structures they depicted, deliberately aligning their images with those of permanent buildings or landmarks. Lepautre and Marot's depiction of the arches in Pont Nôtre-Dame and Place Dauphine employed close cropping and shallow perspective, while Marot utilised a variation on the orthographic set of plan and elevation that had informed working representations of architecture from the sixteenth century onwards.[668] **(Figs. 11., 13.)** In some instances, he even provided a scale, allowing the reader to calculate the size of the real built arches. Notably, the latter were very similar to depictions of buildings in contemporary architectural treatises and prints, which were 'intended to give precise information about the design of the building.'[669]

The images of the triumphal arches were characterised by a tension between the shallowness of the perspective employed and the attempt to invest representations of the occasion's architecture with real volume. In Marot's engravings, such stylistic contradiction resulted in a distortion of perspective that deliberately enhanced the size

668 Eve Blau and Edward Kaufman, 'Introduction' in Blau and Kaufman (eds.), *Architecture and its Image: Four Centuries of Architectural Representation. Works from the Collection of the Canadian Centre for Architecture* (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1989), pp.13—15 (p.13); Caroline van Eck, 'Verbal and visual abstraction: the role of pictorial techniques of representation in Renaissance architectural theory', in Christy Anderson (ed.), *The Built Surface. Volume 1: Architecture and the Pictorial Arts from Antiquity to the Enlightenment* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

669 Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, p.265.

and impressiveness of the structures illustrated. In effect, the *entrée*'s triumphal architecture was shown from above and below simultaneously, as in the plate of the first triumphal arch at Faubourg Saint-Antoine. **(Fig.9.)** Here, the viewer had an impossible vantage, seeing the structure's façade from above, and the underside of its three arches at the same time. It is an effect that appears to stretch the triumphal arch towards the four corners of the page in an effort to dominate the composition and the small groups of figures clustered around it, imbuing the *entrée*'s triumphal arches with a permanence and stability that went far beyond the reality of its construction in painted canvas and wood. The attempt to show an ephemeral structure as imposing, permanent and monumental recalls the representation of *Pax*, Quellin's flat painted allegorical figure, in Pauwels painting of celebrations in Antwerp in 1648 for the Peace of Munster. **(Figs. 16., 17.)**

The engravings of occasional architecture in *L'Entrée Triomphante* can also be compared with contemporary depictions of permanent stone arches. Doing so encourages a more nuanced discussion of the visual distortions enlisted to make temporary structures appear enduring and impressive. From 1670, marble arches were erected at significant junctures throughout Paris. The first, built at the Place du Trône (site of Louis's throne-dais before the 1660 *entrée*), was the first permanent triumphant arch built anywhere since the fall of the Roman Empire. It was a confident gesture with an inglorious history: begun in 1670 after a design by Charles Perrault, it was never completed and was eventually demolished in 1716.[670] Elsewhere, a series of arches were built or restored at some of Paris's main city gates: *Porte Saint-Denis* (1672), Porte Saint-Martin (1674), *Porte Saint-Bernard* (restored 1670) and *Porte Saint-Antoine* (restored 1674)[671] This intensive programme of monument building marked France's most recent military victories, with the Saint-Denis arch commemorating the war of Dutch Devolution (1667-8) and the one at Saint-Martin, the annexation of Franche-Comté (1678).[672] As with attempts made to align contemporary French architectural style with the Greco-Roman tradition, triumphal arch building redoubled efforts to communicate France's superiority and imperiousness to an international audience.

670 Burke, *Fabrication of Louis XIV*, p.78; Lavedan, *Nouvelle Histoire de Paris*, p.194.

671 Burke, *Fabrication of Louis XIV*, p.19; Lavedan, *Nouvelle Histoire de Paris*, p.188.

672 Jones, *Paris*, p.185.

In terms of visual record, the permanent arches were depicted in *Les vues et monuments de Paris,* a collection of engravings of the city by the father and son team of Gabriel and Adam Pérelle.[673] The Pérelles' representations of permanent triumphal arches differed substantially from those produced to commemorate the ephemeral architecture built for the 1660 *entrée*. While the latter showed each arch in 'close up', the Pérelles placed theirs in the context of a much wider landscape, locating each structure on the point of perspectival convergence at the end of a longer vista. (The illustration of Porte Saint-Bernard was the notable exception: in this instance the triumphal arch was demoted from the centre of the composition to the right.) Where Marot and Lepautre had deliberately manipulated the viewer's point of view to enhance the monumentality of temporary structures, the Pérelles' engravings employed a shallower perspective to represent the arches themselves, thereby treating the permanent arches as relatively flat incursions into a much deeper landscape.

This emphasis on wide-open space may, in part, be attributed to the contemporary redevelopment of Paris to become an 'open city'. In 1670, Louis XIV had ordered the demolition of the existing city walls, replacing them with a series of raised, tree-lined *boulevards*, a neologism coined from the Dutch *bolwerc*, meaning rampart. The city's previously fortified boundary was reconfigured as a site of leisure, with the *boulevards* intended to become walkways that offered 'advantageous vistas on the city and surrounding countryside'.[674] This was urban redevelopment with serious political implications, as it conveyed France's confidence in its own national security to an international audience, with '*La situation de la France en Europe était devenue suffisamment forte pour que Paris puisse se passer de ramparts*'.[675] France's position of strength in Europe was so assured that it no longer expected enemy forces to penetrate

673 Scholars have agreed that it is extremely difficult to distinguish between the work of father and son. As Marcel Röthlisberger has remarked, 'Prints of the elder…were as a rule inscribed "Gabriel Pérelle", but the same plates will often reappear with Adam's signature, or simply as "Pérelle".' As such, for the purpose of this thesis, I will refer to the work of both, unless authorship is clearly attributed, with the generic term 'Pérelle'. Véronique Meyer, 'Pérelle', , *Grove Art Online: Oxford Art Online [n.d]*, (http://www.oxfordartonline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/art/T066320); Marcel Röthlisberger, 'The Pérelles', *Master Drawings*, vol.5, No. 3 (Autumn 1967), pp.283-87 (p.284).

674 Jones, *Paris*, p.185, 186.

675 'France's place in Europe had become so strong that Paris was able to do without ramparts', Lavedan, *Nouvelle Histoire de Paris*, pp. 186-88.

its borders or advance upon its capital. After an intensive period of building on the French frontiers, the country was by then surrounded by a so-called 'iron belt' ('*ceinture de fer*') of fortresses constructed under the supervision of the visionary military engineer Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban. The demolition of the ramparts also resonated with Paris's recent tumultuous past and, more particularly, Louis's ambivalence towards his capital and the loyalty of its citizenship. Notably, during the sixteenth-century Wars of Religion and the *Fronde*, the city-walls had been used 'to hold out against rather than for the king'. Their removal can be read, therefore, as a stern warning to Parisians that 'their security was utterly dependent' on the central French state.[676]

The visual presentation of ephemeral architecture in *L'Entrée Triomphante* was not exclusive to French festival literature. The emphasis on a single isolated structure also characterised David Loggan's etchings of triumphal arches in John Ogilby's *The Entertainment of Charles II*. In common with Marot, Loggan deliberately sought to boost the monumentality of the coronation's temporary architecture by playing with perspective. As such, it is possible to view the arches from above and below at the same time, pulling each structure's extremities towards the four corners of the page. As in the French engravings, deliberate visual distortion endowed the occasion's ephemeral architecture with a permanence and durability beyond the reality of its construction.

*The Entertainment of Charles II* also used the event's occasional architecture to articulate the lofty Classical aspirations of its sponsors, the City of London, who had commissioned the arches to:

> …express their Joy with the greatest Magnificence imaginable: imitating therin the antient Romanes, who, at the return of their Emperours, erected Arches of Marble, which though we, by reason of the shortness of Time, could not equal in Materials, yet do ours far exceed theirs in Number and Stupendous Proportions.[677]

The emphasis, here, on the 'return' of a conquering ruler was highly appropriate for the design of the coronation of Charles II, as the restored monarch, only recently returned

676 Jones, *Paris*, p.186.

677 Ogilby, *Entertainment of Charles II*, pp.2-3.

from 17 years in Continental exile, with the triumphal arches erected throughout the city providing a commentary on recent history.

As in *L'Entrée Triomphante*, the uncluttered presentation of the arches reinforced each structure's iconographic programme. The first arch, located in Leadenhall Street in the City of London, established the occasion's main themes by ruminating on the topical theme of monarchy and rebellion. **(Fig.47.)** Visually, this arch strove to reassert the primacy of kingship after more than a decade of 'unsuccessful experiments with various non-monarchical forms of government'.[678] It was stamped with some of the hallmarks of royal authority. The royal achievement of arms appeared at the very top of the arch, while an imperial crown was held aloft by two angels appeared in the lunette below.

The inclusion of figurative representations of James I, Charles I and Charles II signified Stuart dynastic continuity, suggesting peace and stability that were odds with the images of rebellion and treason shown below. The painted panels on either side of the arch contrasted the consequences of loyalty to the throne with those arising from treasonable behaviour. On the right – or 'South-side' – was a depiction of Charles's embarkation at Dover, with a loyal subject shown 'kneeling, and kissing the King's hand'.[679] The opposing panel was, by contrast, a stark reminder of the price paid by traitors, showing the decapitated heads on pikes of some of those who had signed the death warrant of Charles I in 1649.

The occasion's most prominent theme – that the Restoration of Charles II brought a new era of peace and prosperity after the upheaval of the Civil War and Commonwealth – was reiterated by the decoration of the remaining triumphal architecture. The second arch, erected near the Exchange on Wood Street, had a naval theme in acknowledgement of the nation's dependence on maritime trade and naval defence as a guarantee of order and stability. **(Fig.48.)** The third arch, at Cheapside, was the 'Temple of Concord', an even more explicit statement of the event's principal agenda – that of peace and prosperity. **(Fig.49.)** At the king's arrival at the arch, the 'three principal living Figures', personifications of Concord, Love and Truth, emerged from behind the

678 Tim Harris, Restoration, pp.2-3.

679 Ogilby, *Entertainment of Charles II*, p. 21.

curtain, which had previously obscured them, to perform songs and speeches celebrating the new golden age that would follow Charles's return.[680] The fourth and final arch at Whitefriars, near Fleet Street, provided a fitting conclusion, as it represented the 'Garden of Plenty', thereby reinforcing the occasion's emphasis on peace, prosperity and plenty.[681] **(Fig.50.)**

**Ideal Spectators**

Spectators had the potential to pose problems for those in charge of preparing and realising celebrations. Huge crowds had the potential to surge out of control, posing a threat to public order and the safety of those who were part of them. Festive drinking led to disorderly behaviour and even death in the tragic case of Benedict Manuel.[682] And, as social legislation attested, antisocial elements in the crowd threw filth, ordure and fireworks at spectators and, in some cases, even took aim at the participants in an event. In subtler, less manifestly subversive ways, attending crowds could impact on the successful realisation of the ideal celebratory city. Obvious signs of poverty like poor quality of dress, uncouth manners, inelegant gesture, stench of bodily odour and noisiness were impediments to the desired effect, as they imposed the quotidian, working world on what intended to be an exceptional experience. The structures built to accommodate spectators also impaired the aesthetic impact of an occasion. A case in point was Hollar's engraving of the execution of the Earl of Strafford, which showed the scaffolds that accommodated spectators. **(Fig.18.)** These ranged from solidly constructed stands to the more enterprising strategies employed by spectators, such as standing on crates, with the inclusion of these details doing little to enhance the event's sense of order.

Images of celebrations confirmed these concerns through their presentation of spectators. In the most extreme cases, representations of festival were completely depopulated, choosing, instead, to focus on the event's occasional architecture or ritual

680 Ogilby, *Entertainment of Charles II*, pp.134-6.

681 Ogilby, *Entertainment of Charles II*, pp.139-63.

682 Morrice, iii, p.1, 25 April 1685.

paraphernalia.[683] As we have seen, engraver David Loggan deliberately showed the triumphal arches built for the coronation of Charles II in glorious isolation in order to clearly display each arch's iconographical programme. **(Figs.47-50.)**Even images that did include people were untroubled by large crowds of spectators. Representations of the occasional architecture were shown in topographically non-specific spaces strategically populated by small groups of well-behaved, fashionably dressed individuals. In *L'Entrée Triomphante*, Marot provided depictions of the architecture, while Lepautre was drafted in to produce the decorously posed figures populating the volume's engraved plates.

Lepautre's use of figures was remarkably consistent across the volume's illustrative plates, with small groups of spectators, predominantly male, performing a similar function to the staffage employed by artists to 'enliven' contemporary landscape paintings or topographical views.[684] Typically, these figures were used to impress differences in scale, as miniature bystanders reinforced the colossal size of an important building or the divine magnificence of a sublime view. Lepautre's spectators weren't merely characterised by their diminutive size: they were also shown to engage in range of activities. The notion that stock figures merely 'enlivened' these images is challenged by due attention to the subtleties in his presentation of the crowd in the different scenes associated with the *entrée*. Most numerous were depictions of the triumphal architecture that provided the most eye-catching manifestation of festivity on this occasion. As we have seen, the arches were typically shown in glorious isolation, as in Marot's engraving of the arch at the entrance to the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, or shown front on and close up to exclude any sense of background, as in the book's illustration of the arch at Marché-Neuf. **(Figs. 9., 12.)**

Figures assembled in groups of two and three were dotted around Marot's engraving of the triumphal arch in Faubourg Saint-Antoine, with each gesturing towards the arch in some way. In all cases, the imagined spectators were notable for the fashionable

683 For more about these visual conventions, most notably the absence of topographical detail from some representations of festival, see: Elizabeth Goldring, 'The Funeral of Sir Philip Sidney and the Politics of Elizabethan Festival', in Mulryne and Goldring (eds.), *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance*, pp.199-224; see, especially, pp.210-13.

684 'Staffage', *Grove Art Online: Oxford Art Online [n.d]*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T080855, [accessed 30 September 2010].

appearance of their dress and the elegance of the gestures employed. Most figures in the composition have their backs to the viewer, giving their undivided attention to the arch, while other groups, some of mixed gender, were shown strolling or engaged in polite conversation. Two men were even depicted pointing at the occasional architecture, as if caught in the act of explaining its decorative or iconographical scheme to their companions.

Although each depiction of the *entrée*'s architecture was enhanced by small groups of well appointed, elegantly dressed spectators, there were some interesting variations on the theme. Under the arch at Le Parnasse, one man was shown to read aloud from a document to his companions, while a seated man can be seen absorbed in the act of sketching the scene in the foreground of the engraving of the permanent stone arch at Porte Saint-Antoine. However, the same image's ambiance of genteel civility was disrupted by less decorous behaviour. To the right, a man with his back to the viewer appeared to be urinating against the arch, while to the left two figures slumped against a wall, one of whom was also bareheaded. Images of the largest triumphal arches, erected at Marché-Neuf and Pont Notre-Dame, employed another visual trope: men on horseback riding through the opening in the arch. Inclusion of these miniature equestrian portraits was another strategy employed to suggest the colossal size of the occasional architecture and, by extension, its prestige and impressiveness.

The plates showing other aspects of the *entrée*'s occasional architecture used figurative groups to produce subtly different effects. Those images featuring members of the royal family showed much larger crowds in attendance, as well as the presence of armed guards. This was particularly noticeable in the engraving of Louis XIV and Maria-Teresa sat in state on the throne-dais located outside the city wall, beyond Faubourg Saint-Antoine. It is imperative to state that this image fulfilled a different function from those showing other aspects of the entrée's triumphal architecture. Where the latter were explicitly intended to commemorate built things, the representation of the throne-dais was intended as a permanent record of an important episode from the day's programme of ritual events- namely, the moment when the king and queen received homage from the Church, the City and the University. Crucially, this event was invested with much of its significance by means of its intense visibility.

As *L'Entrée Triomphante* was the official chronicle of a major public spectacle, it was expected to reflect the perspective of the event's organizing committee and those whom it had honoured, Louis XIV and to a lesser extent, his new bride Maria-Teresa. François Chaveau's engraved frontispiece realised this relationship in pictorial form. At its centre was Louis, sat in state, to receive the first copy of *L'Entrée Triomphante* from the hand of Alexandre de Sève, then *Prévôt des marchands et échevins*, while other high-ranking representatives from Paris's municipal government flanked him on the right.

The image effectively functioned as both a group portrait of the men responsible for overseeing the *entrée* and its commemoration, and as a record of another ritual: the presentation of the book to the king. The latter was comparable to the act of homage performed outside the Paris's walls by the City, the Church and the University on the day of the entry itself. The image was characterised by a strange mix of humility and pride. Paris's civic elite was captured in the act of homage, with de Sève and his cohorts shown bareheaded and kneeling in the appropriate gesture of supplication. This contrasted with the precision of the descriptive caption underneath, where each man was identified by name, title and rank:

De la IIII Preuost de Mess^re^Alexandre Seue Cheualier seigneur de Chastillon le Roy etc. Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils d'Estat et Conseil Royal des Finances Et de lEscheuinage de M^r^ M^e^ Pierre de la Mouche Conseiller du Roy Et Auditeur de sa Chambre des comtes, M^e^ Iean de Monhers advocat en Parlement, Et M^e^ Eustache de Fauerolles Antien receueur general de pauures Et Administrateur d l'hospital de la Trinité. estans M^e^ Simon Pietre Procureur du Roy, M^e^ Martin le Maire Greffier et M^e^ Nicolas Boucot Receueur de la ville.[685]

685 *Tronçon 1662*, frontispiece.

Like Tronçon's rhetorical hesitancy in the author's preface, this image made very clear who was responsible for the book as the most perfect version of Louis's *entrée*.

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**Section III conclusion**:

The representation of festival in printed texts and images produced a separate, 'pre-packaged' version of the event. In this section we considered the evidence of two books: *L'Entrée Triomphante* and *The History of the Coronation of James II*, and the extent to which the experience of festival in print was shaped by the material properties of the volumes and the representational strategies employed throughout. Both *L'Entrée Triomphante* and *The History of the Coronation of James II* were prestige publications, meaning the quality of their construction were intended to inspire reverence and awe in the reader. Likewise, where the performance and experience of festival was plural and fragmentary, the representational strategies used to record the events for posterity attempted to impose a level of control on the interpretation of events that was not possible in the 'real' world. For this reason, the version of festival found in the festival books was the most complete realisation of the ideal celebratory city.

## Final Conclusion

### Strategies for Celebration: Realising the Ideal Celebratory City in London and Paris, 1660-1715

This dissertation has considered the role played by the spectacular in the creation of the ideal celebratory city in the context of two early modern metropolises, London and Paris. The notion of the ideal celebratory city was the product of bewilderment. Having first stumbled on studies of early modern festival in the course of my Masters, I was rather confused by the methodology employed by historians of the subject, who wrote about the events, whether celebration, ceremony or ritual, as if they were located in an entirely different realm from the everyday, working early modern city. This was hardly the most earth-shattering insight, but it has played a crucial role in shaping the approach taken by this thesis.

Previous studies of early modern urban festival have stressed the most abstract and intellectual aspects of the design of events, namely the triangular relationship between the choice of narrative for specific occasions, the recondite symbolism and allegory that helped convey this, and the needs of the political moment. By contrast, my treatment of the subject has been resolutely down to earth, taking account of the active and practical processes that informed the preparation, production and representation of events in the context of the real early modern city, and fully engaging with early modern festival as a multimedia and collaborative enterprise. Moreover, where other studies have treated urban festival as a one-way, top-down form of communication, this dissertation has celebrated the fragmentary, collaborative and participatory and, by extension, the plural, occasionally contested social, cultural and political ideals that were invested in the same event.

In part, this has been an issue of evidence: where the existing scholarship has privileged the highly finished textual and visual representations, as commissioned by the organisers of events, I have made use of the widest range of sources. In addition to major festival books produced during the period, most notably Jean Tronçon's *L'Entrée Triomphante* and Francis Sandford's *The History of the Coronation of James II*, I have also

consulted archival sources detailing activities in London and Paris, state and civic legislation, court records and sessions papers, contemporary eyewitness accounts in diaries, letters and memoirs, newspapers and pamphlets, drawings, paintings, printed images, the evidence of objects, such as books and metalwork, technical manuals, and even the physical traces left by events on the urban landscape.

In order to tease out the relationship between the ideal and real celebratory city, this dissertation had a tripartite structure, and focused on the three key moments in the narrative of all festival events: preparation, performance and representation. The first section of the thesis dealt with the period of preparation. Factoring in the days, weeks and months before the performance actively extended the narrative of an event. Rather than treat Louis XIV's *entrée* in 1660 as a mere four days of celebration, the approach adopted by other studies, this discussion engaged with the years of mental – and months of practical – preparations that preceded the realisation of events in late August 1660.

By considering the design and scheduling of multimedia spectaculars, like the *entrée*, this section sought to nuance our understanding of the relationship between those with bureaucratic control over an event, and the personnel entrusted with its practical realisation. As the section showed, major urban celebrations were composite, and required inputs from a wide range of personnel, who were employed to realise the different facets of the design. In effect, this section was a study of the diverse social, cultural and political ideals that were invested in the entities produced to mark special occasions. In order to tease out the complexities of this relationship, we used the evidence of three types of designed entity: temporary structures, which included triumphal architecture and the scaffolds, or *échafaux*, built as viewing platforms; firework displays, and bonfires.

This discussion really concerned the relationship between the centre and the periphery, as the production and design of festival was always partially devolved. Even those aspects of an event's design that were invested with the most ideological importance had to be entrusted to a wide range of personnel. This was certainly the case in Paris in 1660, when at least fifteen artists were employed to realise different aspects of the

triumphal arches built to mark Louis's *entrée*. The *marché* issued by the event's overall organising committee attested to the deep-rooted anxieties that underpinned the interactions between those who had bureaucratic responsibility for a major urban celebration, and the 'creatives' they employed to realise the performance. Likewise, the example of the *échafaux* built as viewing platforms illustrated the contested nature of some festival design. In this instance, disagreement over the right to grant planning permission revealed a fault line in the relationship between the *Prévôt des marchands et échevins* and the *Trésorier de France*, and illustrated the contested ideals, in this instance municipal and state ideals, that informed the organisation of events, suggesting the disagreements that simmered beneath the surface of even the most ideal celebratory city.

The second section of the thesis discussed the performance of events. Ostensibly, at least, this has been the focus of the existing scholarship on early modern festival. However, where previous scholarly accounts of urban celebration have used almost exclusively the evidence of festival literature, this part of the dissertation attempted to establish what actually happened on days of occasion. Accidents, injuries and poor weather were factors that even the most organised planning committee were unable to prepare against. As we saw, these 'acts of god' could seriously undermine the prestige of a celebration, and the ideals invested in it. This section the thesis also engaged with the experience of early modern festival – an aspect of the subject often gets lost more in abstract or recondite appraisals. The evidence of the different types of structure spectators sat in or stood on reiterated the extent to which experience of festival was inherently fragmentary, issuing an additional, albeit less dramatic, challenge to those in charge.

The third and final section of the thesis considered the idea of festival in print. Festival literature has received considerable scholarly attention elsewhere, but this has focussed almost exclusively on interpreting the rhetoric of the books' content, and by extension unravelling the iconographical and ideological meaning of the occasions. By contrast, this dissertation showed that festival books were major projects in their own right, bringing together skilled personnel in an effort to show the events in their best light. My study used evidence of the production of two festival books to demonstrate that the

idealisation of the celebration was achieved through the exquisite production of the volumes themselves, as well as the representational strategies used to present the events. The latter commemorated those aspects of occasions that were most beautiful or costly, such as occasional architecture, splendid costumes and firework displays, while excising those parts of the real early modern city – crowds, congestion, ordure and filth – that posed the greatest challenges to the ideal celebratory city.

In its entirety, this dissertation showed how the same event could appear to very different effects at three key stages in its narrative. Think, for example, of the firework display that marked the coronation of James II in April 1685. The evidence of the preparations made before the event, and the representation produced by Sherwin and Collins after it had taken place both suggested an occasion that was orderly, well organised and impressive. Think now of John Aubrey's ominous account – the people 'choosing rather to be drown'd than burn'd' – and the medical bills of the Office of Ordnance workers injured during the performance of the fireworks. It is an example that clearly illustrates the conjuncture and disjuncture between a rhetorical ideal and the challenges inherent in its practical realisation, suggesting, perhaps, that the ideal celebratory city was only possible once translated into a static, printed format.

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Fig. 1. Duke and Duchess of Cambridge on the balcony of Buckingham Palace, 29 April 2011 © Getty Images

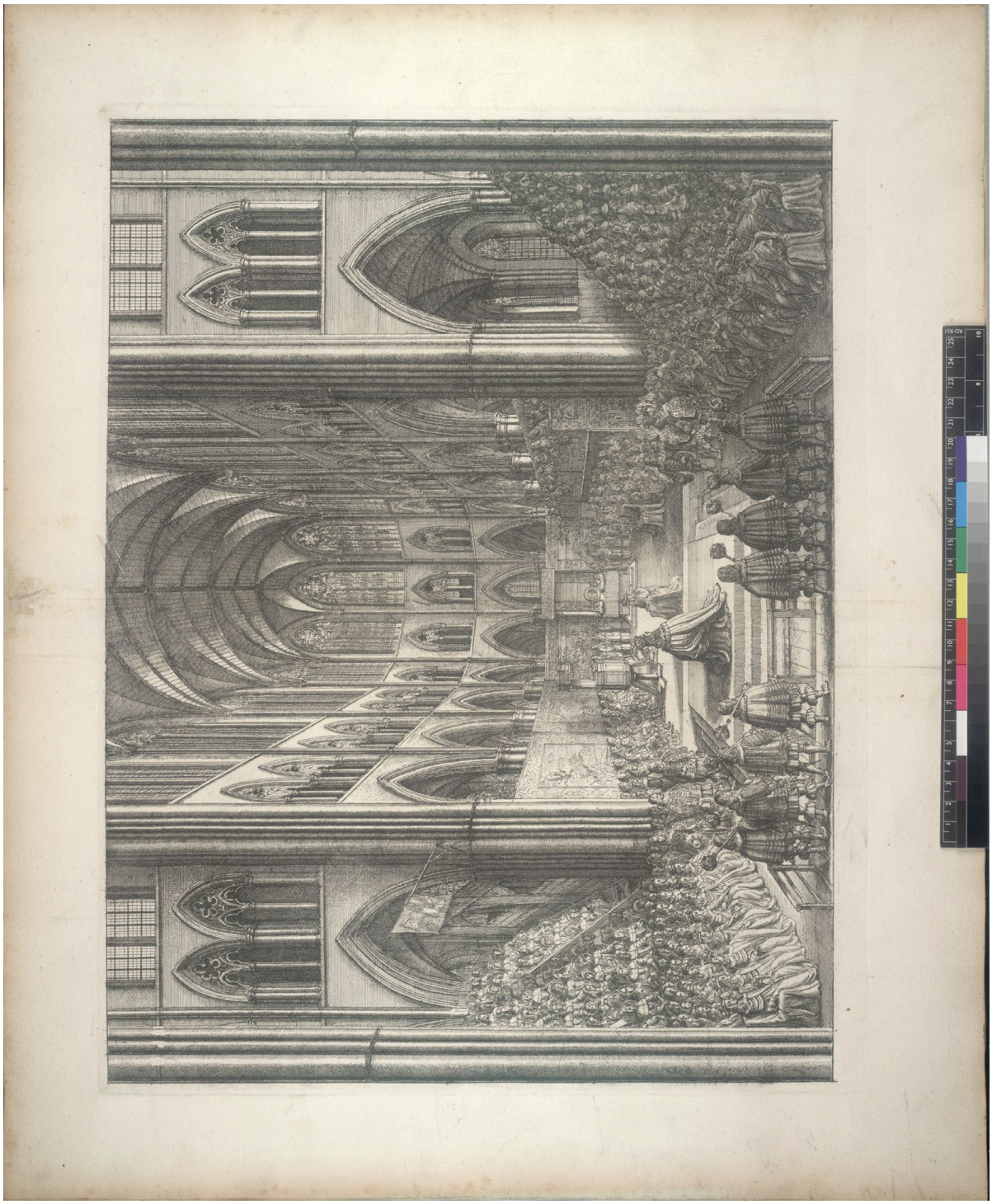


Fig. 2. Wenceslaus Hollar, *The Coronation of Charles II in Westminster Abbey*, 1662, etching on paper, British Library, London [From: Ogilby, *The Entertainment of… Charles II, in his passage through the city of London to his Coronation*, between pp.176-7]

Fig. 3. Still from: *Iberia Triumphant: the reconstruction of Lisbon on the triumphal entry of Philip II of Spain in 1581*, 2011 © Laura Fernandez-Gonzalez

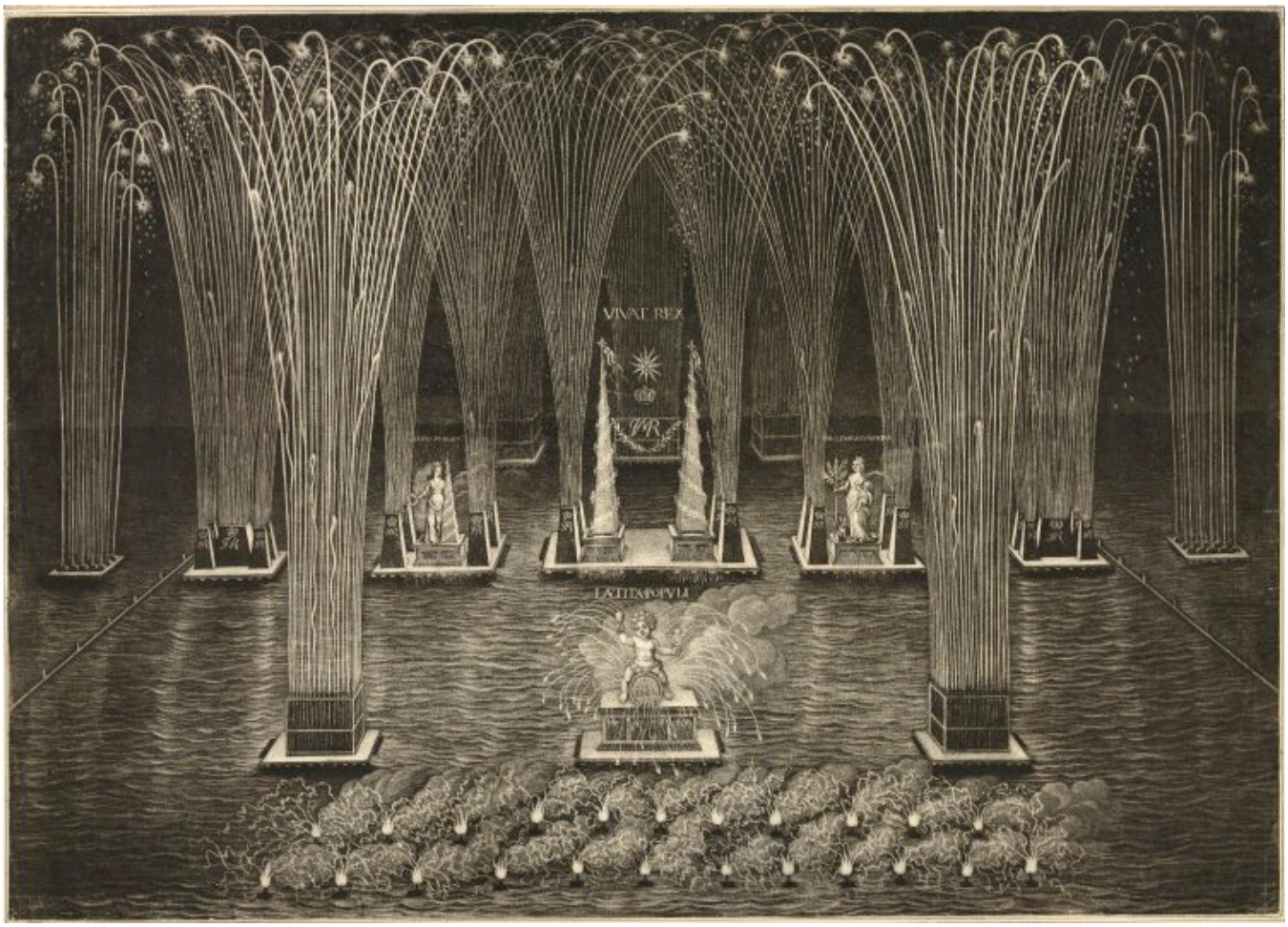



Fig. 4. Bernard II Lens, *A view of the fireworks on the Thames to celebrate the birth of the son of James II on 10 June 1688*, 1688, mezzotint, British Museum, London


Fig. 5. Gabriel Ladame, 'La Magnifique Entrée du Roy et de la Royne dans leur bonne Ville de Paris, le 26 aoust 1660', Hennin: 3977, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris


Fig.6. Gabriel Ladame, Detail of the 'échafaux' in 'La Magnifique Entrée du Roy et de la Royne dans leur bonne Ville de Paris, le 26 aoust 1660', Hennin: 3977, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Fig. 7. Gabriel Ladame, Detail of the triumphal arch at Faubourg Saint-Antoine in 'La Magnifique Entrée du Roy et de la Royne dans leur bonne Ville de Paris, le 26 aoust 1660', Hennin: 3977, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris


Fig. 8. Jean Marot, ‘Hault Dais ou Throsne Royal’, 1662, engraving on paper, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris


Fig. 9. Jean Marot, 'Premier Arc du Triomphe à l'entrée du Faubourg sainct Anthoine', 1662, etching on paper, British Library, London [From: Tronçon, *L'Entrée Triomphante*, between pp.7-8]


Fig. 10. Jean Lepautre, 'Arc de triomphe du Carefour de la Fontaine sainct Geruais', [Le Parnasse], 1662, etching on paper, British Library, London [From: Tronçon, *L'Entrée Triomphante*, between pp.8-9]


Fig. 11. Jean Lepautre, 'Arc du Triomphe eslevé au bout du pont nostre Dame', 1662, etching on paper, British Library, London [From: Tronçon, *L'Entrée Triomphante*, between pp.18-19]


Fig. 12. Jean Marot, 'Arc de Triomphe dans le marché neuf', 1662, etching on paper, British Library, London [From: Tronçon, *L'Entrée Triomphante*, between pp.20-21]


Fig. 13. Jean Lepautre, 'Obelisque dans la place Dauphine', 1662, etching on paper, British Library, London [From: Tronçon, *L'Entrée Triomphante*, between pp.28-9]

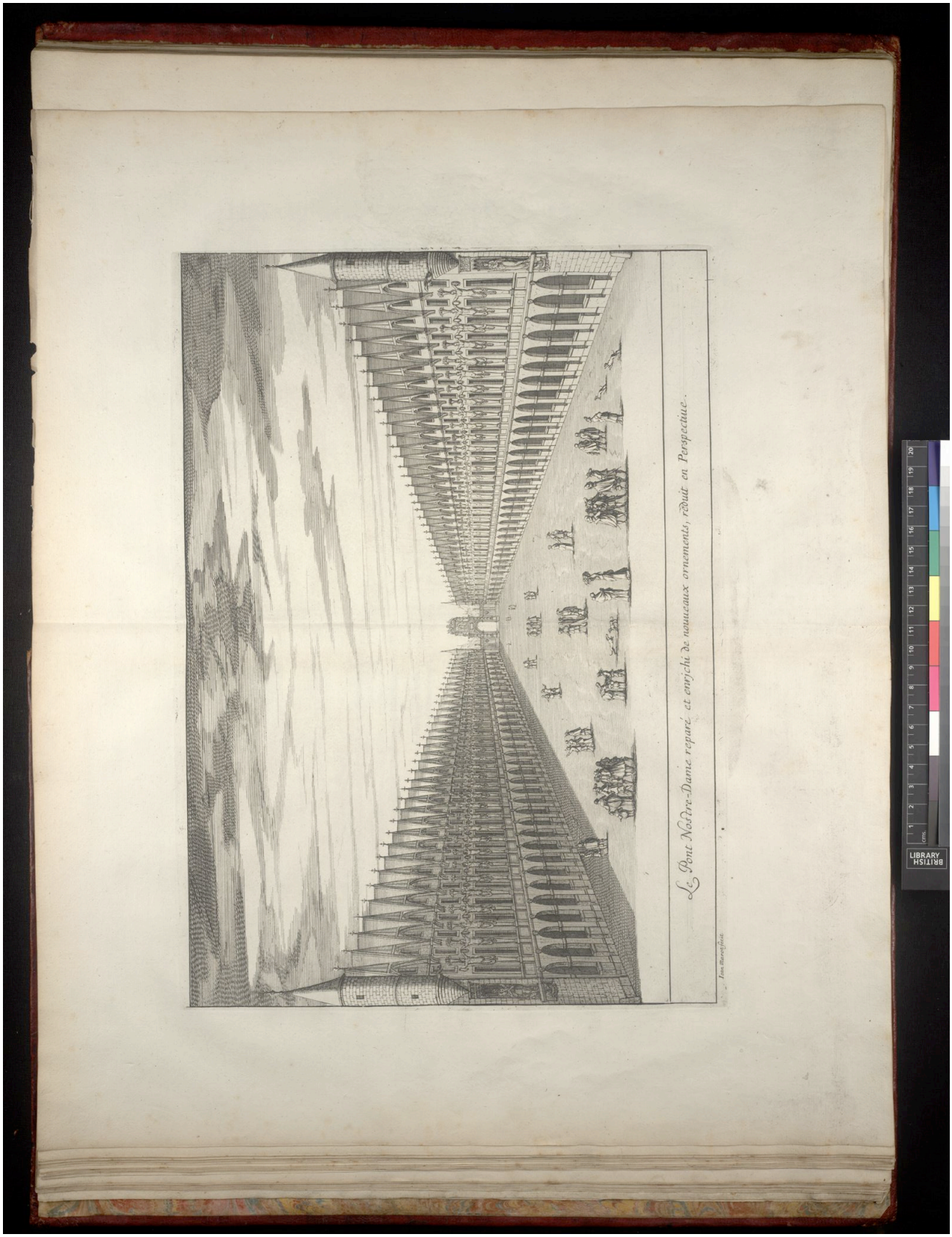



Fig. 14. Jean Marot, Le Pont Nostre-Dame reparé et enrichi de nouveaux ornements, reduit en Perspective', 1662, etching on paper, British Library, London [From: Tronçon, *L'Entrée Triomphante*, between pp.10-11]

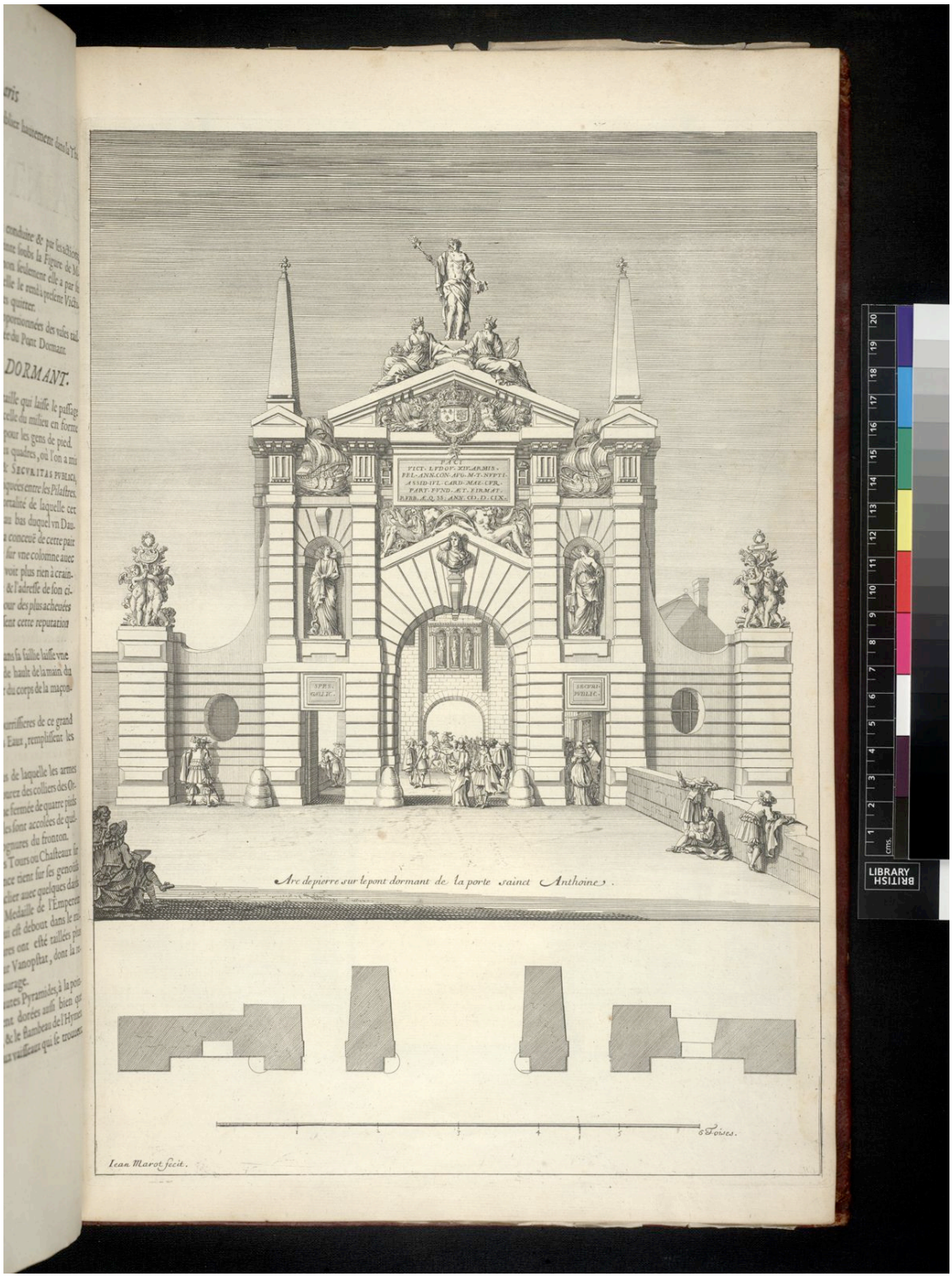



Fig. 15. Jean Marot, 'Arc du pierre sur le pont dormant le porte sainct Anthoine', 1662, etching on paper, British Library, London [From: Tronçon, *L'Entrée Triomphante*, between pp.6-7]

Fig. 16. Erasmus II Quellin, Allegorical figure of 'Pax', 1648, oil on chased wood, Museum Vleeshuis, Antwerp

Fig. 17. Maximiliaean Pauwels [attr.], *The Proclamation of the Peace of Münster on the Grote Markt, Antwerp*, 1648, oil on canvas, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten

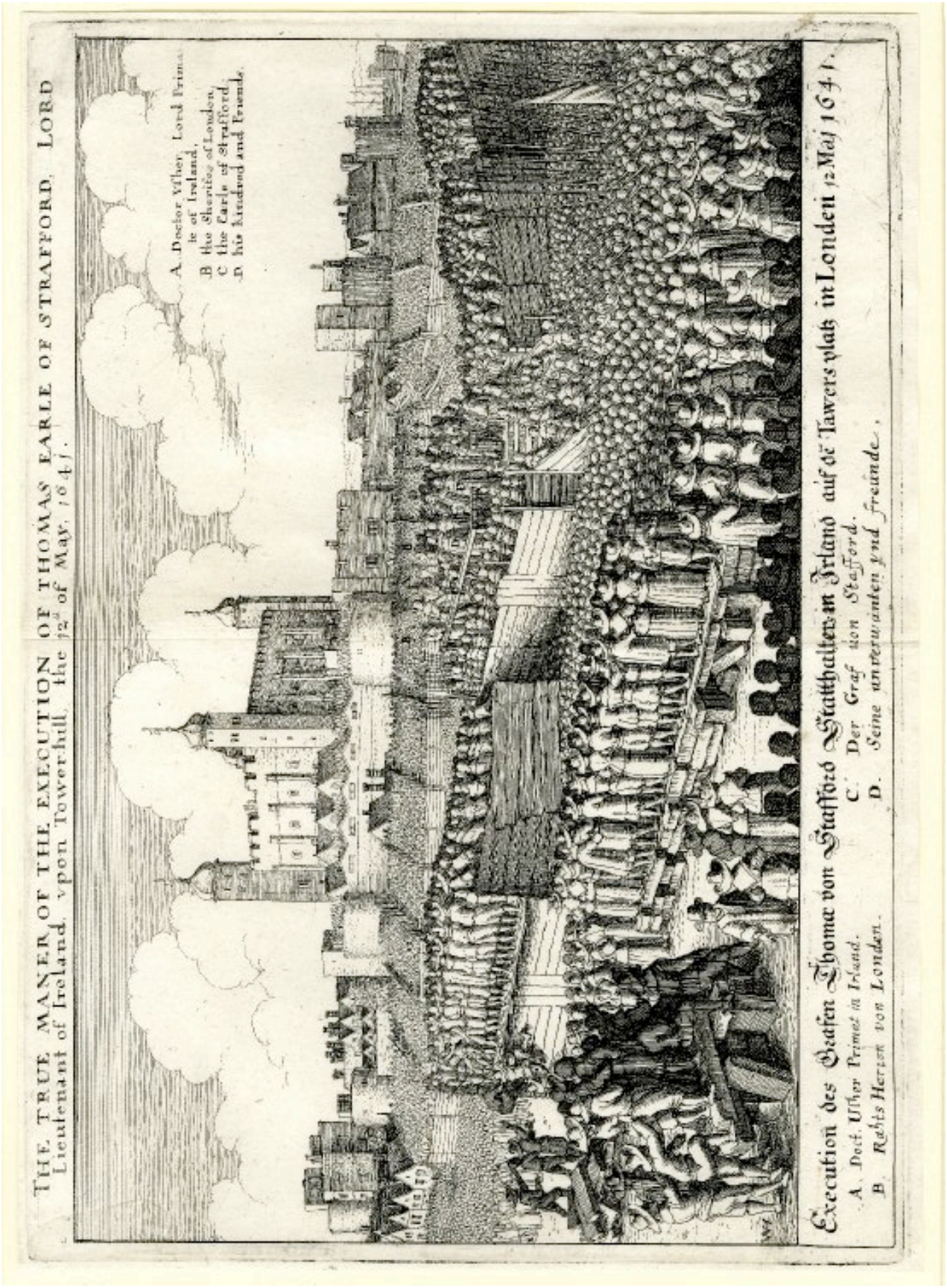



Fig. 18. Wenceslaus Hollar, 'The True Maner of the Execution of Thomas Earle of Strafford. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. vpon Towerhill the 12th of May 1641', 1641, etching on paper, British Museum, London

Fig. 19. John Hamilton, *View of Tyburn*, 1767, drawing on paper, British Museum, London

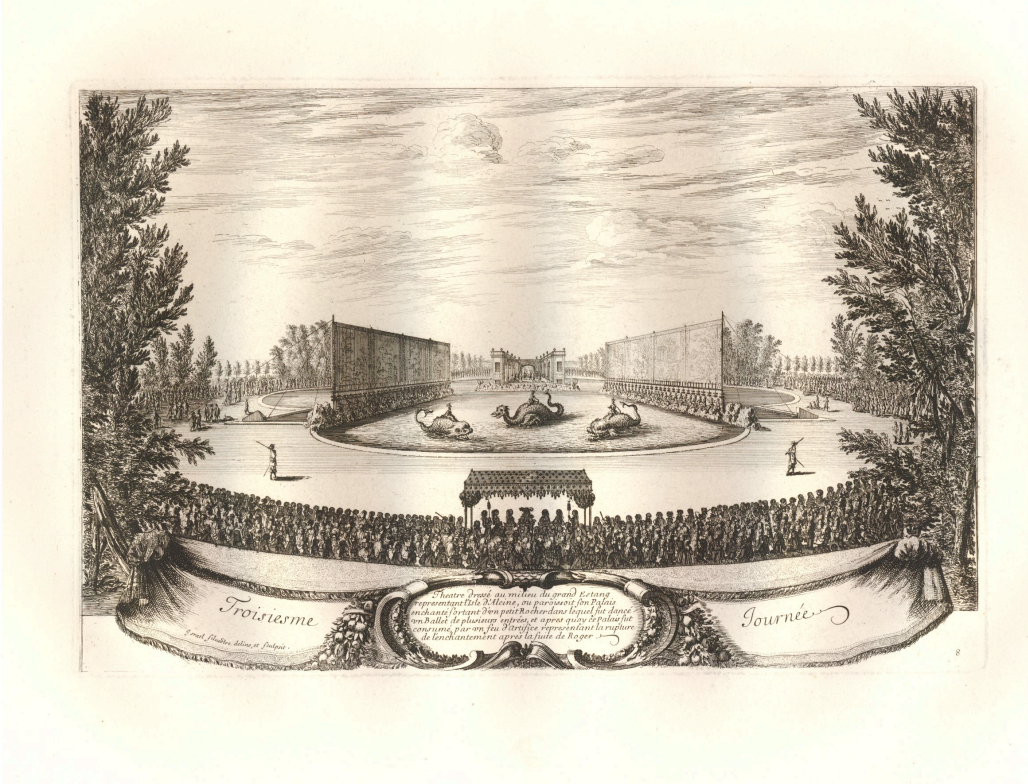
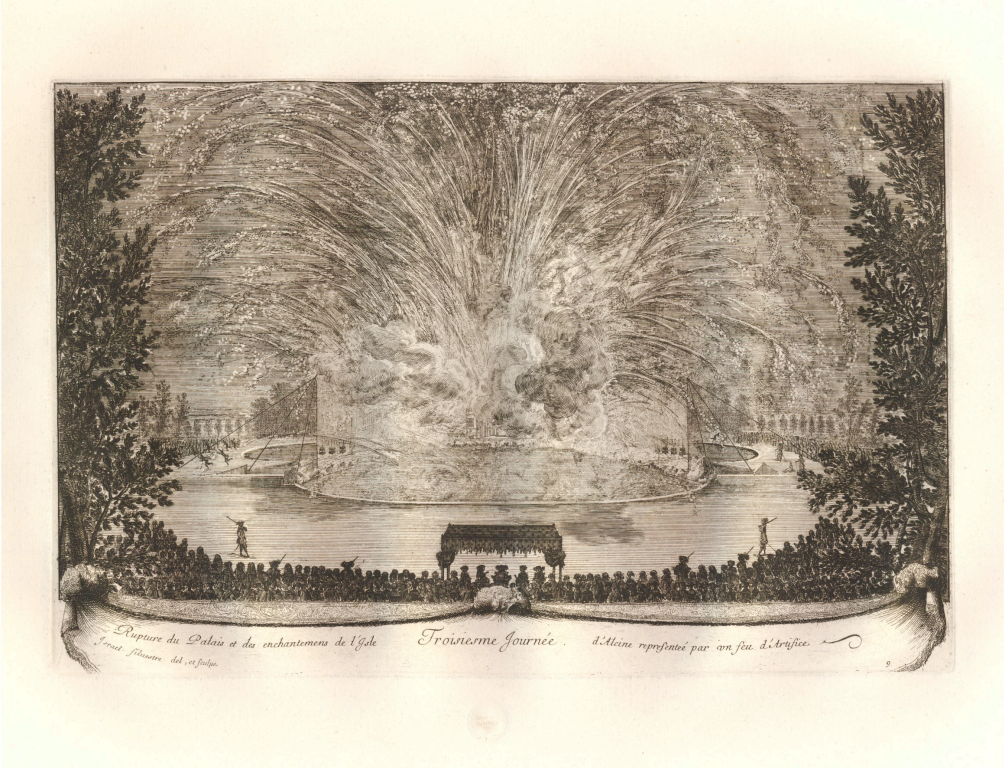



Fig. 20. Israël Silvestre, The Palace of Alcina, from the third day of *Les plaisirs de l'îsle enchantée*, 1664, engraving on paper, British Museum, London

Fig. 23. Israël Silvestre, Destruction of the Palace of Alcina, from the third day of *Les plaisirs de l'îsle enchantée*, 1664, engraving on paper, British Museum, London



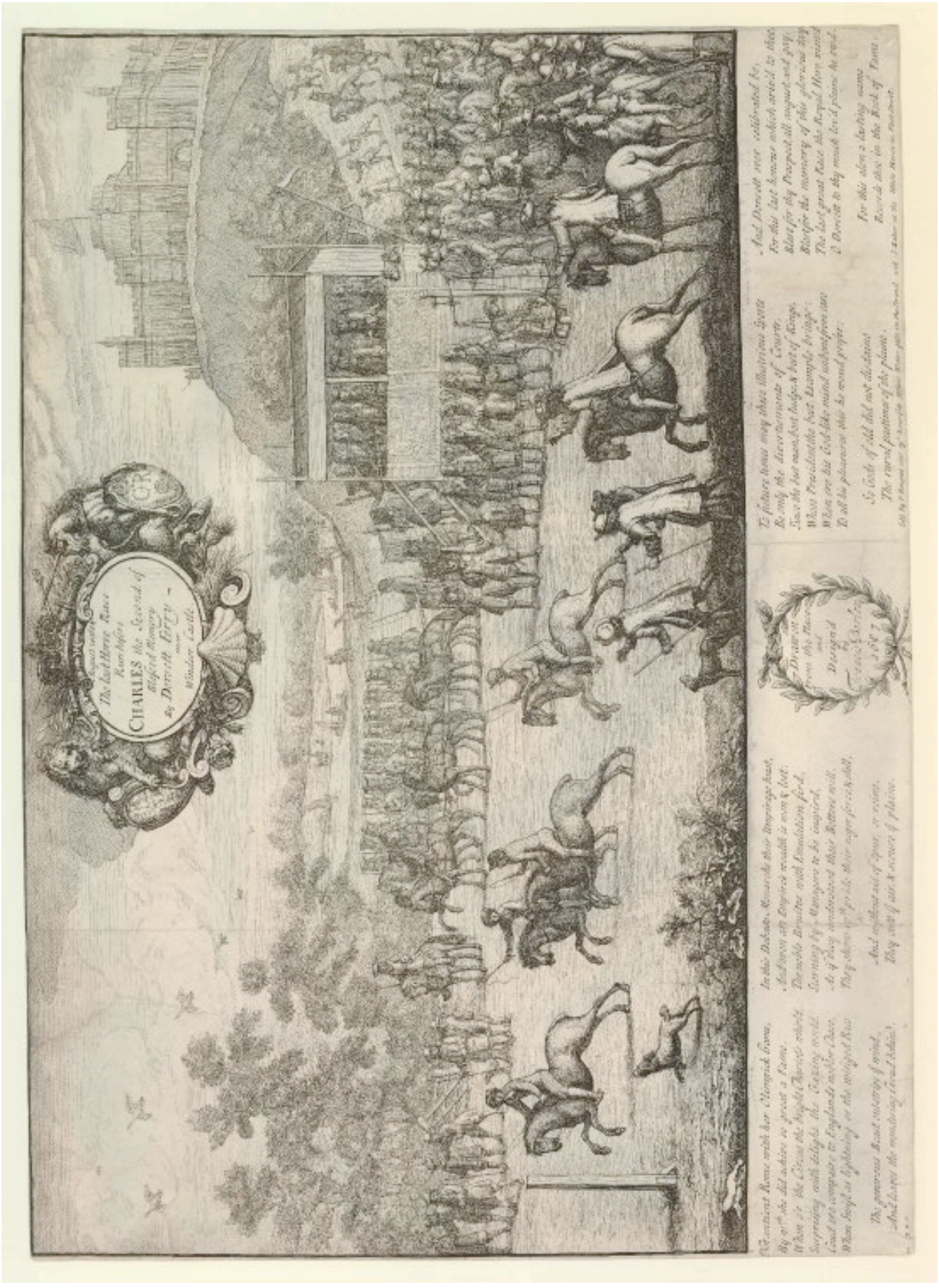


Fig. 21. Francis Barlow, 'The Last horse race run before Charles the Second of blessed memory by Dorsett Ferry near Windsor Castle, August 24 1684', 1687, etching on paper, British Museum, Londo

Fig.22. Jean Marot, 'Feux D'Artifice', 1662, etching on paper, British Library, London
[From: Tronçon, *L'Entrée Triomphante*, between pp.8-9]

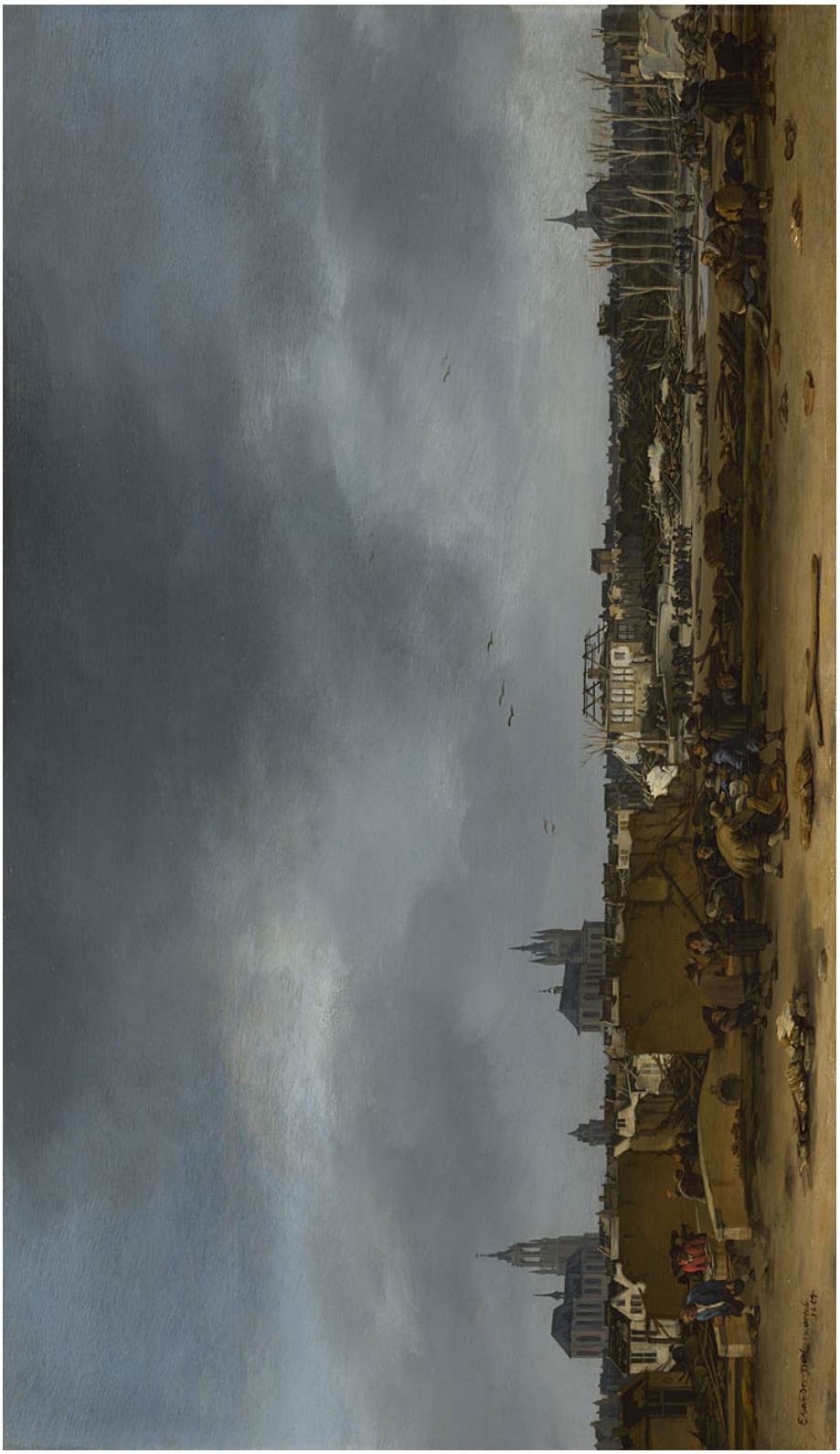


Fig. 24. Egbert van der Poel, *A View of Delft after the Explosion of 1654*, 1654, oil on canvas, The National Gallery, London


Fig. 25. John Collins and William Sherwin, after Francis Barlow, 'A Representation of the Fire-works upon the River of Thames against Whitehall at their Majesties Coronation A° 1685', 1687, engraving on paper, British Museum, London

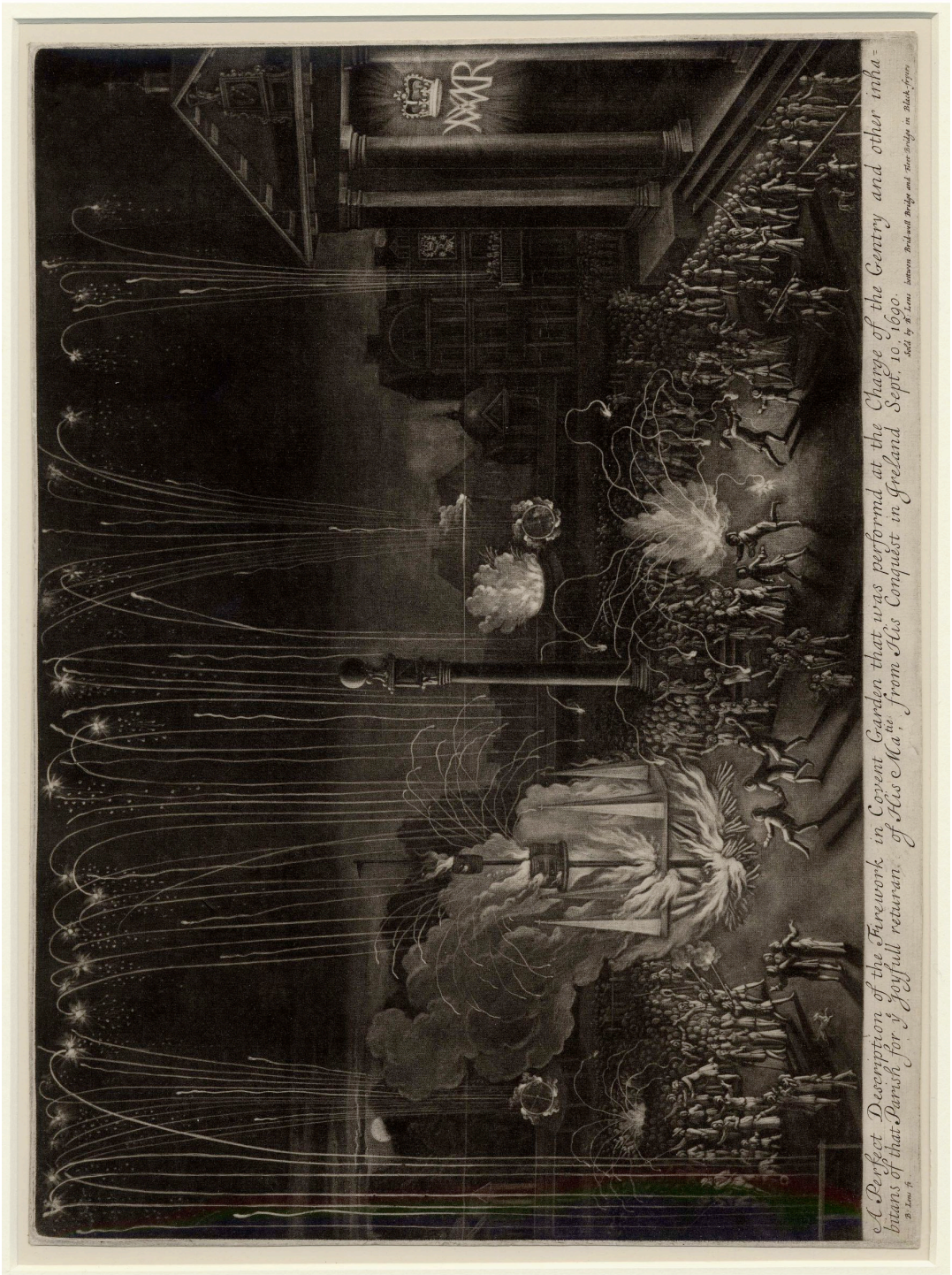



Fig. 26. Bernard II Lens, 'A Perfect Description of the Firework in Covent Garden that was performed at the Charge of the Gentry and other inhabitants of that Parish for ye. joyfull returan [sic.] of His Ma[jes]tie from His Conquest in Ireland Sept. 10. 1690, 1690, mezzotint, British Museum, London

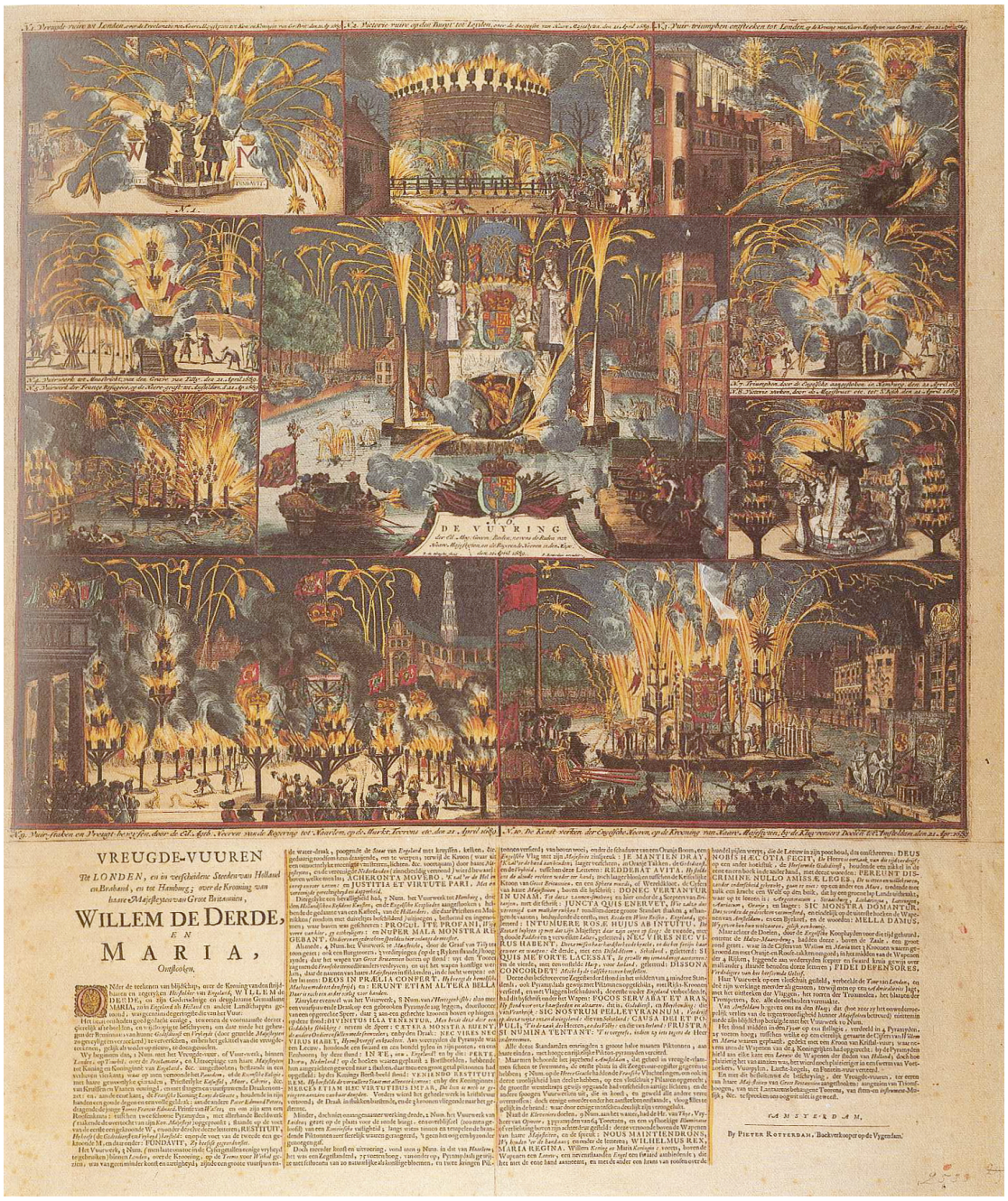



Fig. 27. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Fireworks Celebrating the Coronation of William III and Mary II*, 1689, engraving and letterpress on paper with additional contemporary hand-colouring, 50.8 x 58.4 cm, Private Collection

The GRAND WHIM for POSTERITY to Laugh at:

Being the Night View of the ROYAL FIREWORKS, as Exhibited in the Green Park, St. *James's*, with the Right Wing on Fire, and the cutting away the two Middle Arches to prevent the whole Fabrack from being Destroy'd.

THIS grand Machine, to fire and brave,
In Great *Pelham* you have:
From thence its Plan th' *Statue* drew,
Made it fair Stretch, and call'd it *New*.
Those here, supported by her Arm,
Her Country's Folly learn to mourn.
Her Sister *Ifis*' gentle Stream,
The Muse's sweet delightful Theme,
Is forced to storm the Bank,
And a dire Penance undergo;
With Sulphur drench'd, and scorch'd with Fire,
Would fain within her Urn retire.
*Peace*, the grand Object of the Whole,
Attracts the Eye, and fills the Soul.
A charming Figure! could we fay,
'Twas like the Object of the Day.
The *Peace*, which we so lately made,
And solemniz'd with such Parade;
A *Peace*, which we so dearly bought,
For which our *Armies* bravely fought;
A *Peace*, which none but Sl—n would make,
And People learn glad to take;
A *Peace*, for which we fing'd and sung'd,
And which already is infring'd;
A *Peace*—But hold, I may transgress—
My King and Country Heavens bless!
*Neptune*, with grave Majestick Mien,
Reluctant, comes into the Scene:
With Eye indignant views the Farce,
In which compulsively he fturns.

*Mars* too, the threat'ning God of War,
Muft in the Gallimatfry fhare,
His lowring Looks, and cloudy Brow,
His difcontented Mind avow.
'What Ravish have I here, faid he?
'Why here thole Defarts beg'd of me?
'The ardent *Britons* well I know,
'They ftoutly fought, and conquer'd too.
'They made their Peace with Sword in Hand,
'And their own Terms preferib'd to Land.
'The Madness! What have they performe'd?
'What Battles won, or Forrests fhorn'd?
'What Conduct did there once appear
'Thro' the whole Progrefs of the War?
'A bak'rous Vulvar prah'd them on
'To run their Heads againft a Gun.'
But why muft *Liberty* adorn
The Pile for Sons are bound to fcorn?
What new Accefion can fhe fhew,
Or how enlarged is her View,
From the late firft Pacific Plan?
Tell us, ye B——rs, if ye can.
Lo! *Tyrfos*, crouded in the Piece,
With Sorrow for Advancement fies;
Unlefs fhe could her Power exert,
And make the high-born Villain fmart;
Reach out an Arm to ftrike the Great,
And purifh ev'ry Rogue of State.
Sage *Temperance*, with moufd Mien,
Muft help to deck the gaudy Scene.

But how fhe came to fhew her Face
So near the Court, does all amaze.
But what has *Fortitude* to do
In this fantaftick idle Shew?
Is it to tell us that we we ftand
In need of her affifting Hand,
And noble Spirit to fupport
The Wrongs and Infults of the C——t?
To teach us Patience in Diftrefs,
And how to yield to Tyrant Maftery?
Meekly to bear, without a Growl,
The Whips and Scourges of a Fool?
*Prudence*, O moft propoft'rous Thought!
To decorate the Thing is brought.
The very Structure where fhe's plac'd,
With fuch inftantfi Expreces rafs'd,
Is a ftrong Proof, too melancholy,
How much we've fall'n by Whim and Folly.
What's here! good-luck! *Religion* too,
Befrecks the gluing Puppet-Show.
How aptly does fhe grace the Cell
Where Fire and Smoke and Sulphur dwell,
Lively Refemblance of a Hell!
Laftly, it meant to fhow a Sociey,
And gibe the *Nole* gaudy Pair,
To point out their fcheived Doom,
United, in the World to come.
*Riches*, indeed, might well appear
To grace this noble Theatre,

If Grandeur and Magnificence,
And Thoufands lavifh'd in Expence
On Luxury and gorgeous Whims,
Extravagant and foolifh Schemes,
Were more than merely Golden Dreams.
*Plenty*, elevate'd aloft to View,
Does but our Wretchednefs renew;
And ferms to mock the Men at Helm,
Who have impoverifh'd the Realm.
*Concord*, how rightly placed here
To make the wond'ring People ftare!
So near the C——l! whom ev'ry Man,
Join'd in the M——— Plan,
Like Fellow-Thieves, with Heart and Hand,
Jointly agree to fpoil the Land.
*Felicity*, with joyous Face,
Among the reft has found a Place;
A bleffed Emblem of our State!
But more efpecially of late;
Since the whole Nation we differn
Merry as Beggars in a Barn.
*Honour*, and *Faith*, and *Vigilance*,
All juft inquired fuch from *France*,
Their ftrutting Figures here advance;
And as they're out in foreign Tafte,
No doubt they'll fondly be carefs'd.
But, lo! the Scaffolde's in a Flame;
The D——l now has play'd his Game.

*Remember the* WAR, PEACE, *and* FIREWORKS.

BE it remember'd in the Annals of Pofterity, and to the eternal Honour of the Britifh Nation, That, in the Year of our Lord One Thoufand Seven Hundred and Thirty-nine, and in the Twelfth Year of the auſpicious Reign of GEORGE II. a War was enter'd into with Spain, for the Non-payment of Ninety Thoufand Pounds, due to the South-Sea Company, and to fecure a free Navigation without *Search* (or cutting People's Ears off) to the Weft-Indies: Which Declaration of War foon involv'd England in another againſt France; who, contrary to Treaty, had open'd and fortified the Harbour of Dunkirk. Be it then, I fay, remember'd, That Great Britain, after a vaſt *Profuſion* of Blood, and running in Debt full Thirty Millions, when it had reduced the Royal Fleets of France and Spain to ſo wretched a Condition, that they durſt not appear at Sea, and had, by the brave *New-Englanders*, taken the important Ifle of *Cape Breton*, did, by that ever memorable Peace, concluded at *Aix la-Chapelle*, 1749, not only generouſly reſtore *Cape Breton* to the Crown of France, ſend two of her prime Nobility as *Hoſtages* (a Humorous Print of which is to be had at every Print-Shop in *London*, under the Title of the HOSTAGES a PEERAGE) leave *Dunkirk* in part ſtill fortified, but alſo expend, in a *Fire-work*, a Sum little inferior to the original Demand upon Spain, and concluded a Moſt Gracious and Honourable Peace with that Nation; leaving the grand Affair of the *Search*, and Barbarities uſed towards her gallant Sailors, juſt where the found them. Thus ended this *long*, *bloody*, and *coſtly* War; which was open'd with *Bonfires* at Home, carried on with *Fatigues* in the Field, and ended with the loud Roar of *Cannon* in the Green-Park, the 29th of *April* 1749.

LONDON: Printed for T. Fox, near *Ludgate*. [Price Six-Pence.]

Fig. 28. Artist unknown, 'The Grand Whim for Posterity to Laugh At', ca.1749, etching and letterpress on paper, British Museum, London

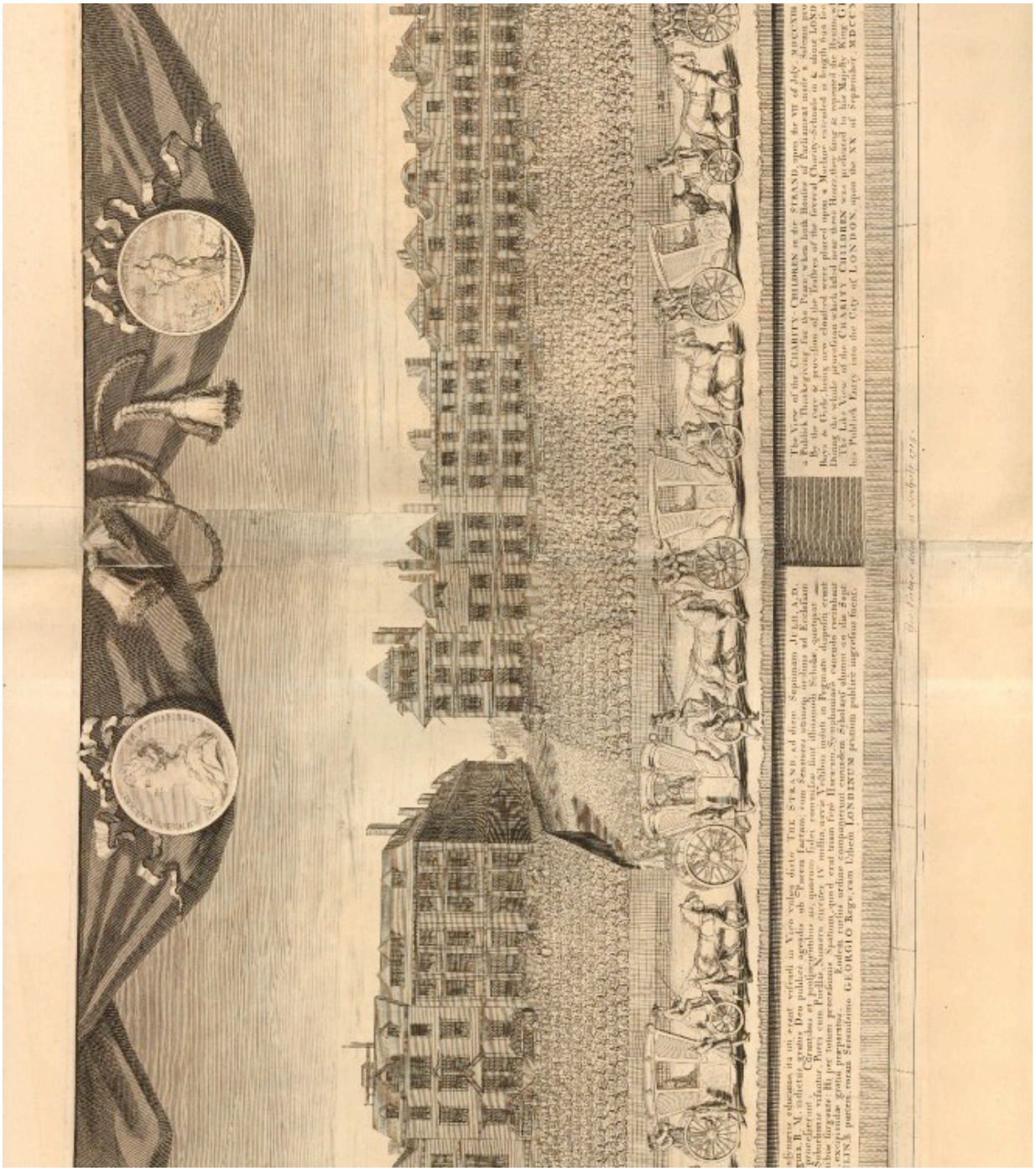


Fig. 29. George Vertue, *The View of the Charity-Children in the Strand [detail], upon the VII of July, MDCCXIII*, 1715, engraving on paper, British Museum, London

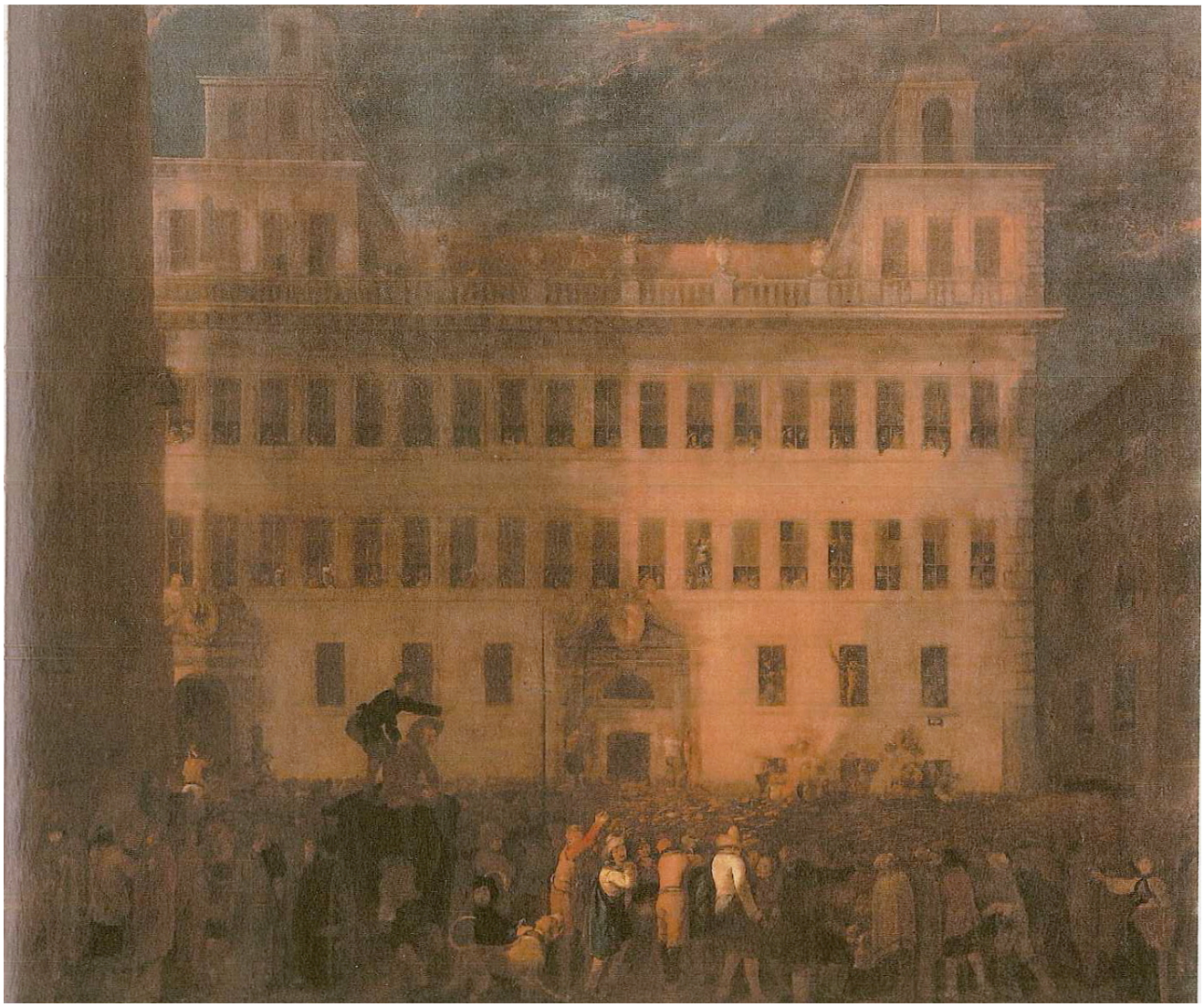


Fig. 30. Artist unknown, *Festivities held in Piazza Navona to celebrate the birth of Don Carlos, Infante of Spain*, 1662, oil on canvas, Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna

Fig. 31. Andrea Sacchi, Filippo Gagliardi and Manciola, *'Saracen' Tournament in Piazza Navona on 25 February 1634*, 1625-1650, Museum of Rome, Rome

Fig. 32. Filippo Lauri and Filippo Gagliardi, *Carousel for Queen Christina of Sweden held in the courtyard of Palazzo Barberini*, Rome, 1656, oil on canvas, Museum of Rome, Rome

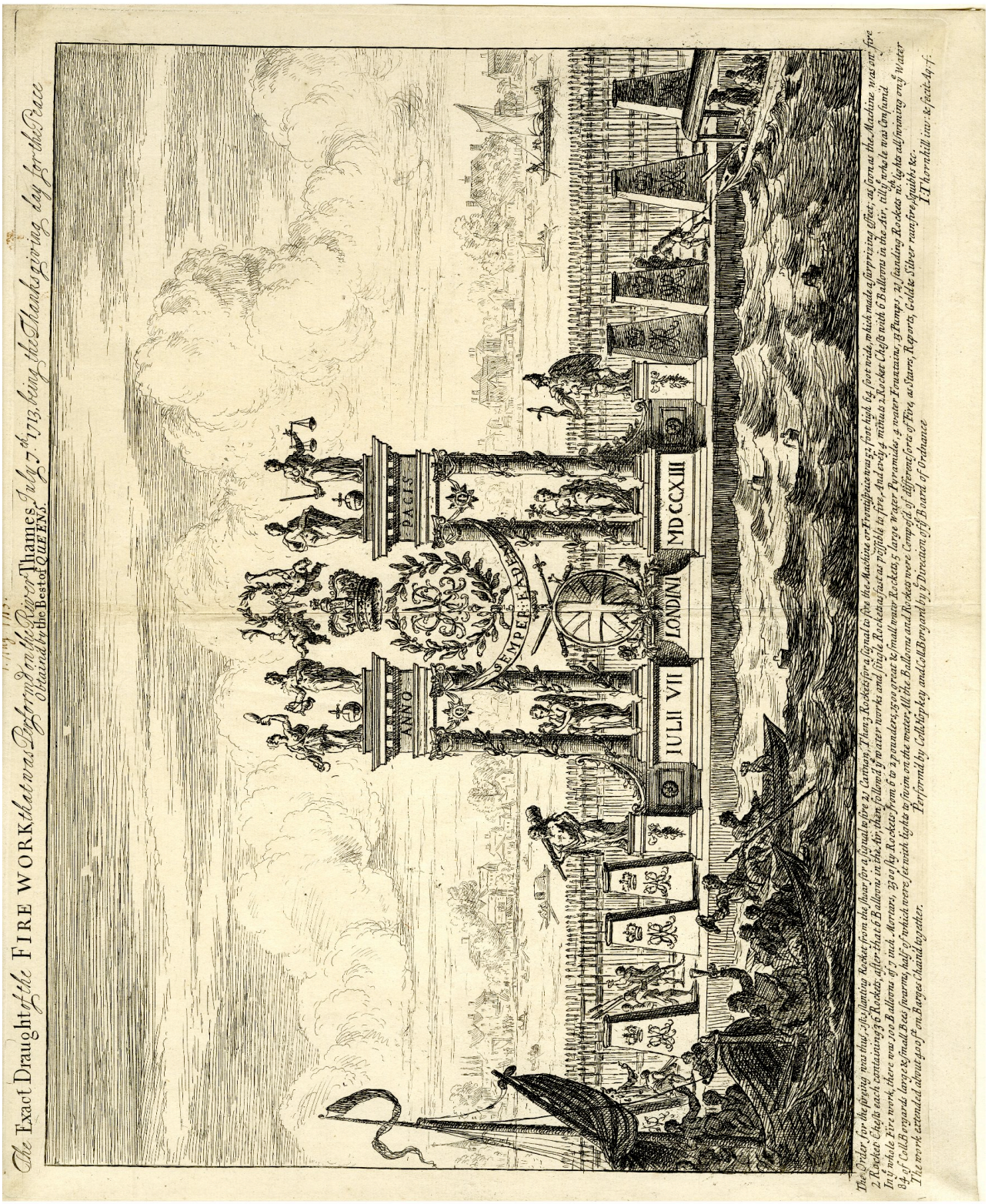



Fig. 33. Sir James Thornhill, 'The exact draught of the Fire Work that was perform'd on the River Thames July 7th 1713', being the Thanksgiving day for the Peace, 1713, etching on paper, British Museum, London

Fig. 34. Jean Marot, 'Amphiteatre de la place Dauphine', 1662, etching on paper, British Library, London [From: Tronçon, *L'Entrée Triomphante*, between pp.24-5]

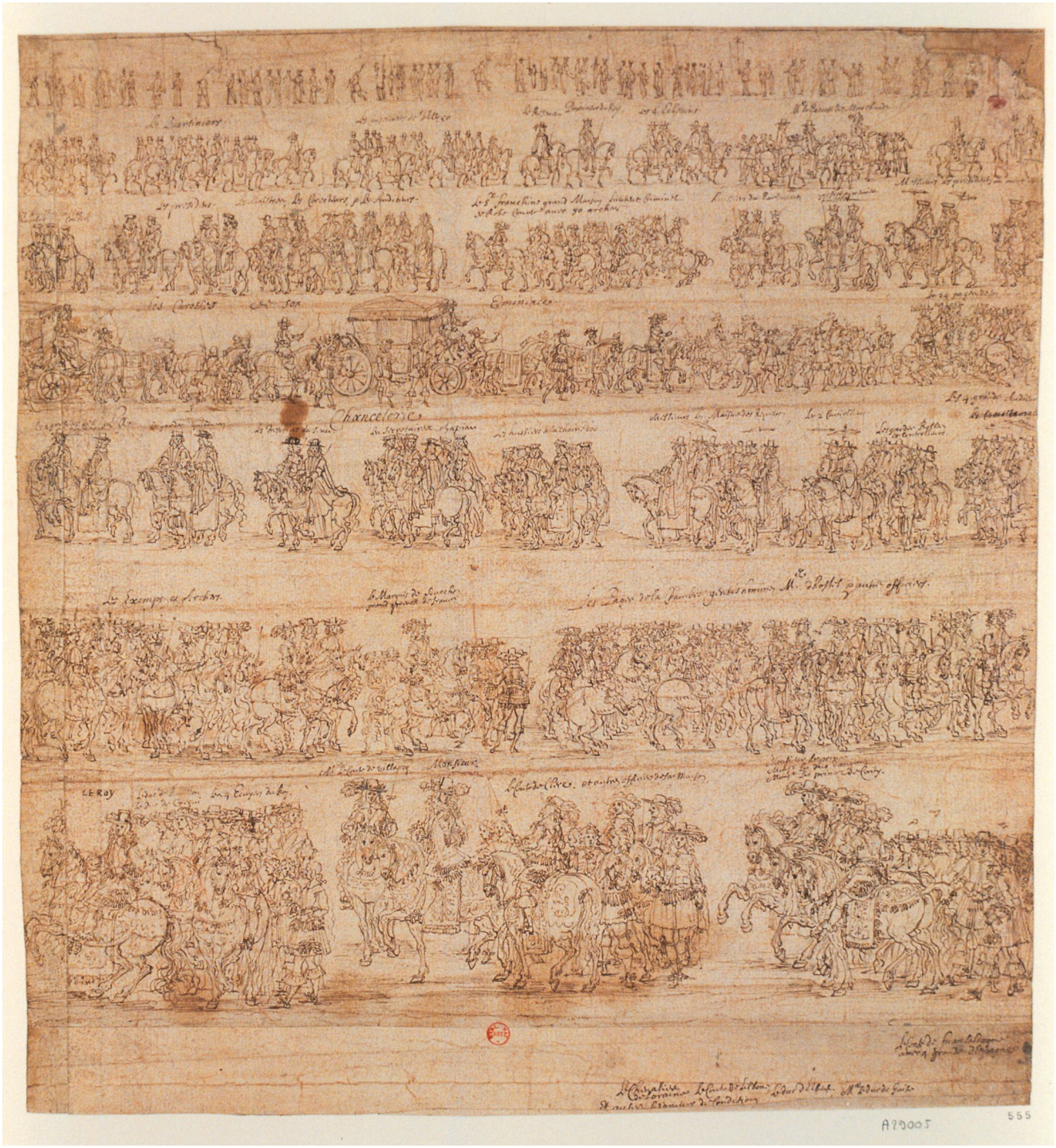



Fig. 35. Nicolas Cochin, Triomphante entrée du Roy et de la Reine à Paris, le 26 août 1660 [sheet 1], 1660, pen and brown ink on tinted paper, Destailleur Paris: t.4, 554, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

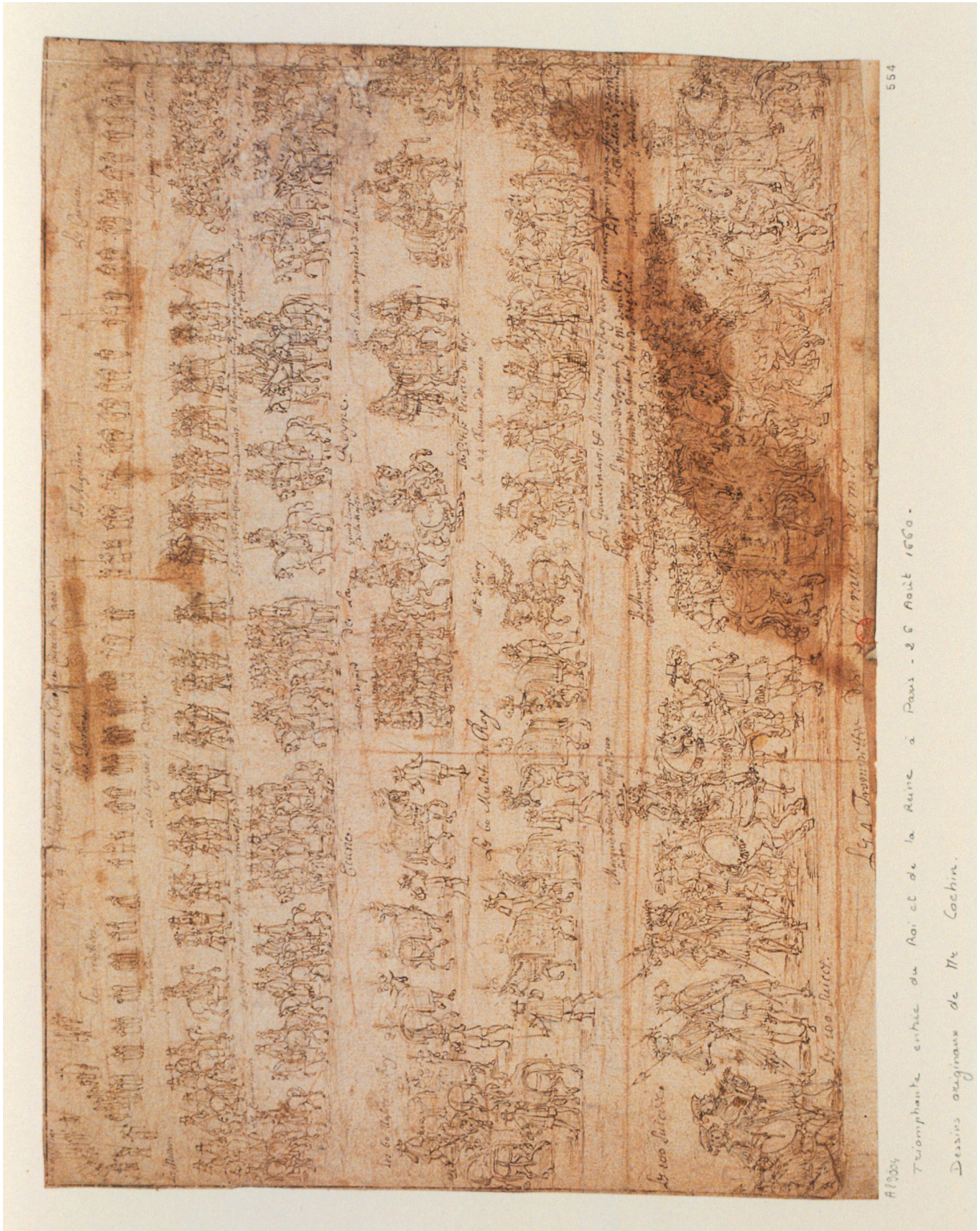



Fig. 36. Nicolas Cochin, Triomphante entrée du Roy et de la Reine à Paris, le 26 août 1660 [sheet 2], 1660, pen and brown ink on tinted paper, Destailleur Paris: t.4, 555, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris


Fig. 37. Jean Marot [attr.], Arc de triomphe dans le Marché Neuf, 1660, pen, ink and India ink wash on paper, Destailleur Paris: t.4, 558, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

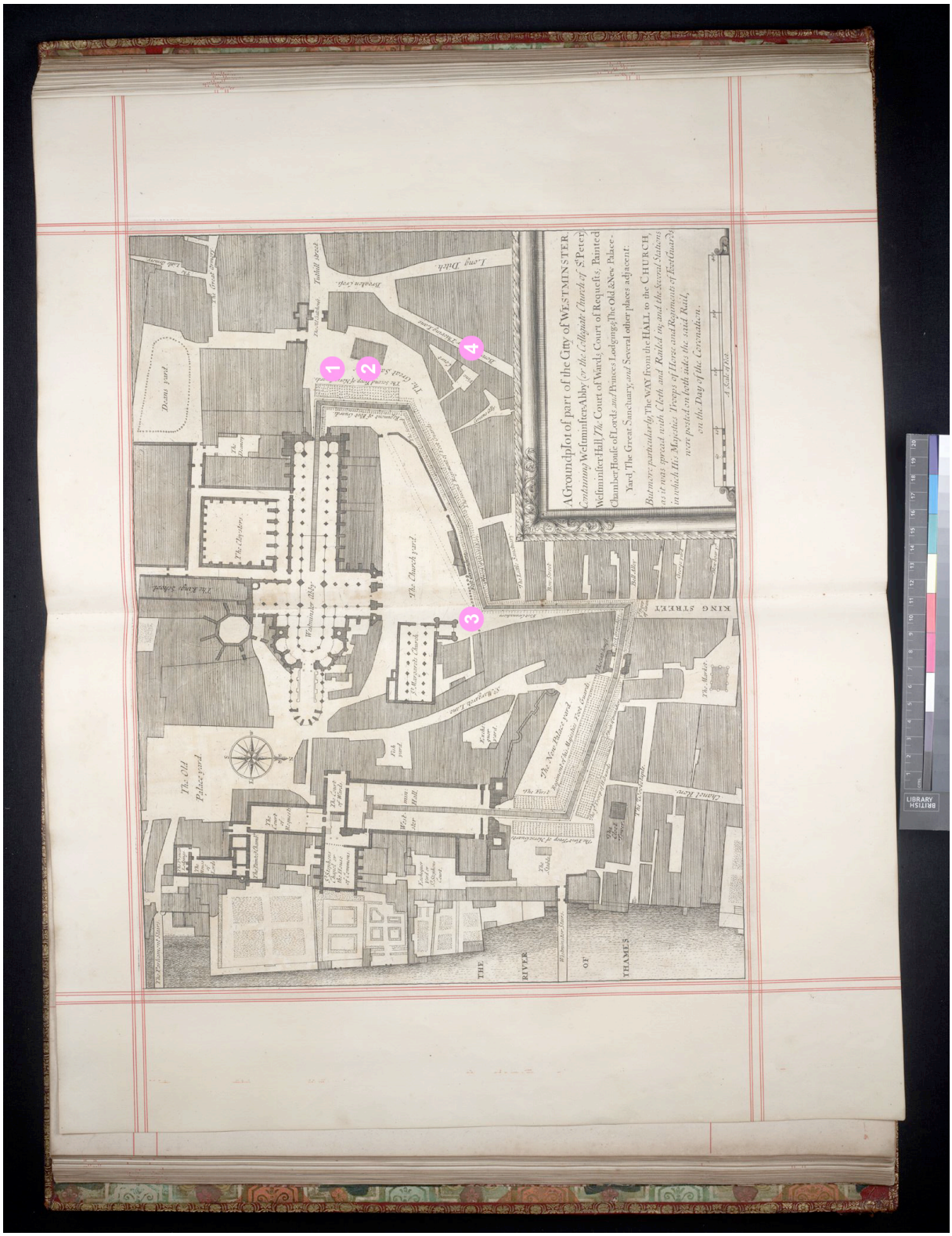



Fig. 38. Map showing the location of four commercial stands built near Westminster Abbey for the coronation of George I on 20 October 1714

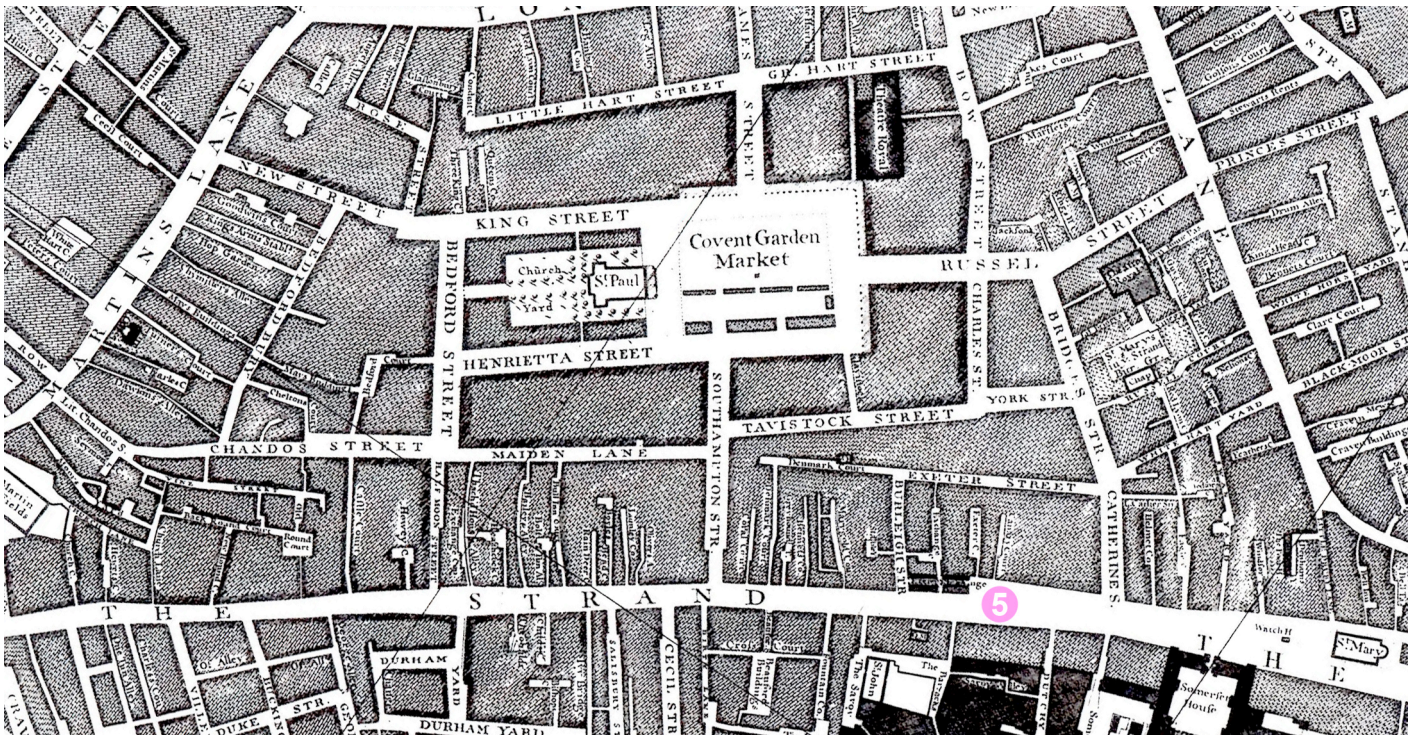



Fig. 39: Map showing the location of the commercial stand built on The Strand and in Covent Garden for the coronation of George I on 20 October 1714

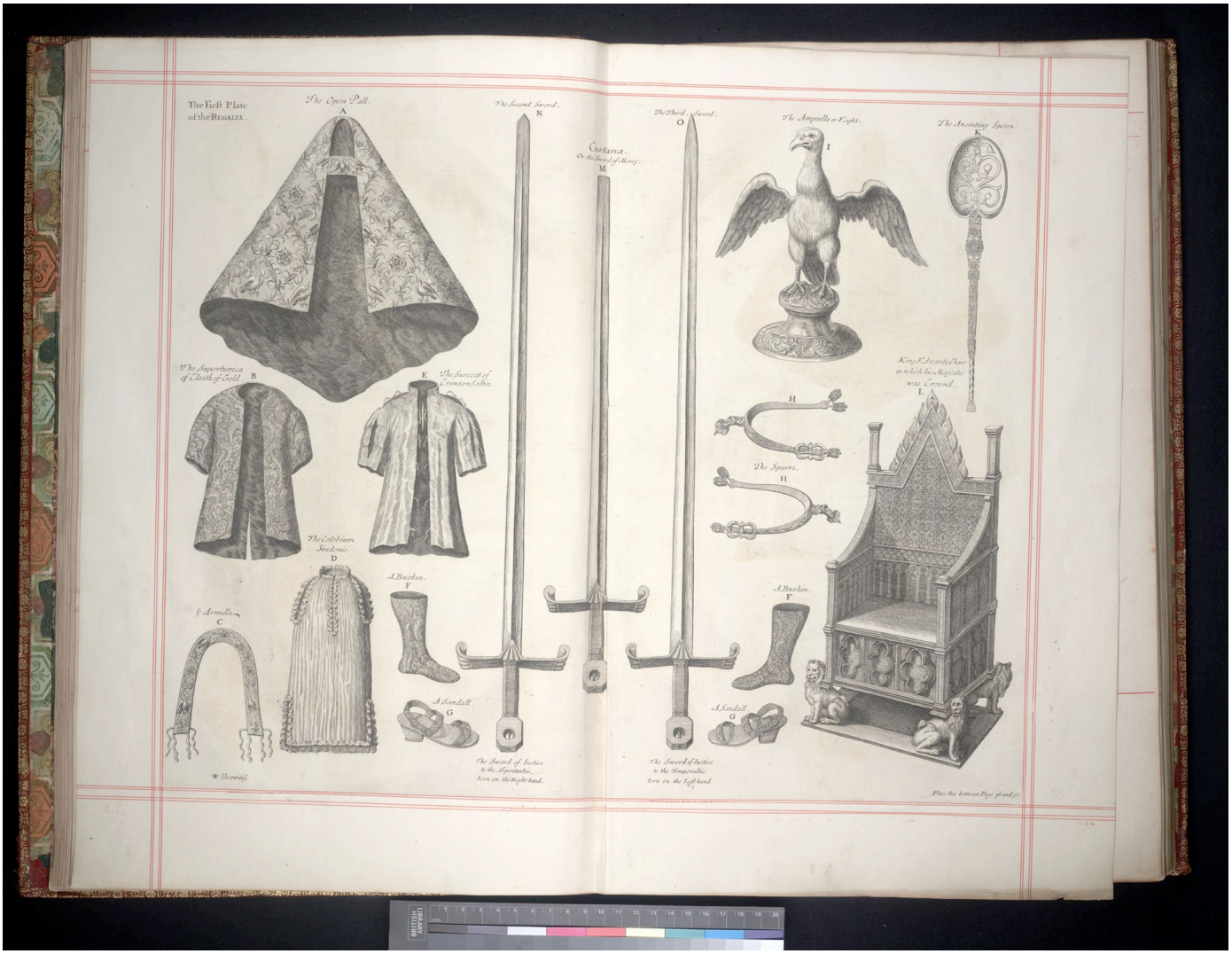



Fig. 40. William Sherwin, 'The First Plate of the REGALIA', 1687, engraving on paper, British Library, London [From: Sandford, *History of the Coronation of James II*, between pp.33-4]


Fig. 41. Bernard II Lens, 'A Representation of the Royal Fire-work perform'd by the directions of Coll. Hopkey and Coll. Bogard on the River of Thames before Whitehall ye. 7th July being the day appointed for a publick Thanksgiving for the General Peace', 1713, mezzotint, British Museum, London


Fig. 42. 'A Groundplot of the Citty of Westminster', 1687, engraving on paper, British Library, London [From: Sandford, *History of the Coronation of James II*, between pp.64-5]

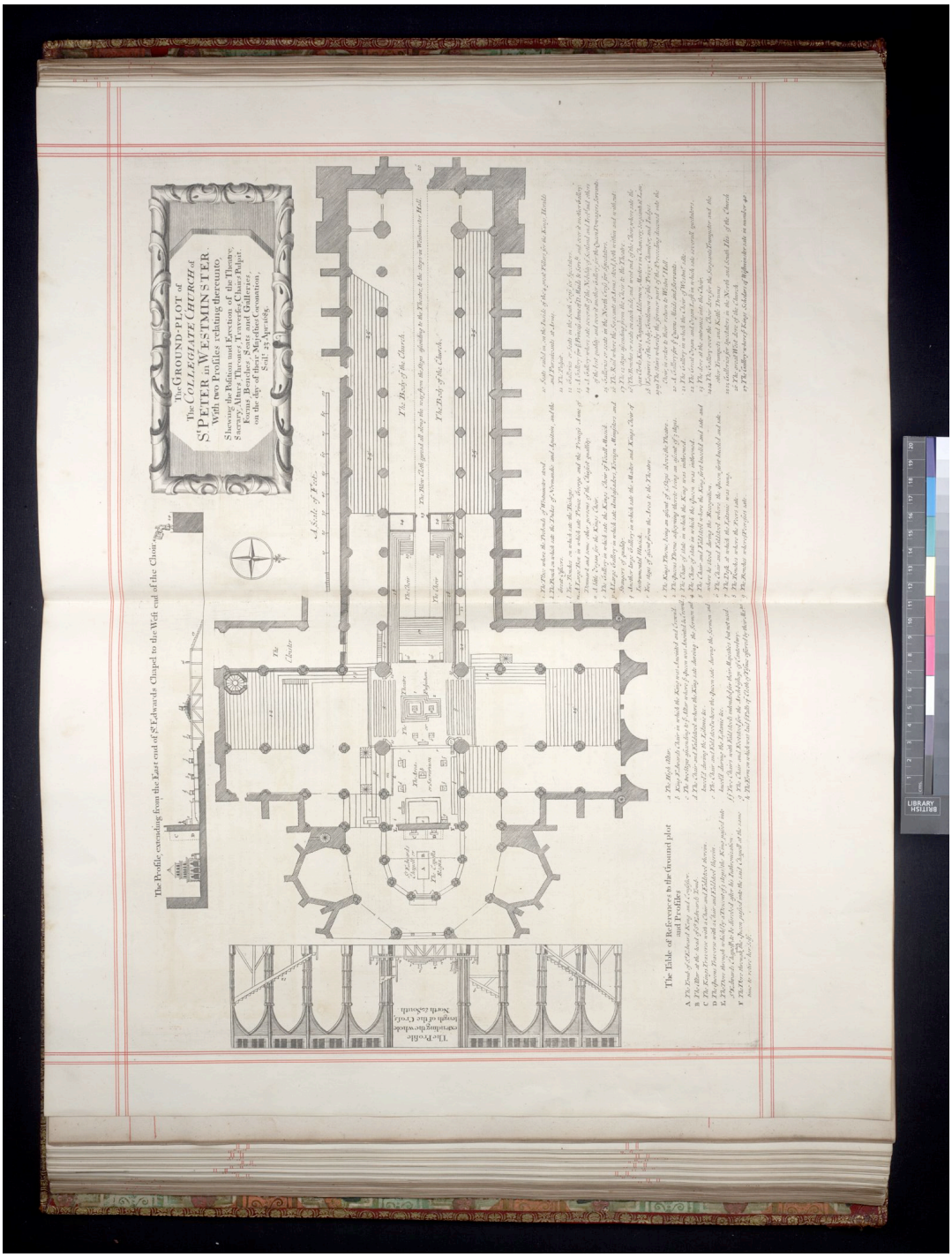



Fig. 43. 'The Ground-plot of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter in Westminster', 1687, engraving on paper, British Library, London [From: Sandford, *History of the Coronation of James II*, between pp.80-1]


Fig. 44. Samuel Moore, 'A Prospect of the Inside of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter in Westminster Abbey from the Quire to the East End', 1687, engraving on paper, British Library, London [From: Sandford, *History of the Coronation of James II*, between pp.80-1]


Fig. 45. Samuel Moore, 'A Perspective of Westminster-Abby from the High-Altar to the West end, Shewing the manner of His Majestie's Crowning', 1687, engraving on paper, British Library, London [From: Sandford, *History of the Coronation of James II*, between pp.80-1]


Fig. 46. 'The Inthronization of Their Majesties King James the Second and Queen Mary', 1687, engraving on paper, British Library, London [From: Sandford, *History of the Coronation of James II*, between pp.80-1]

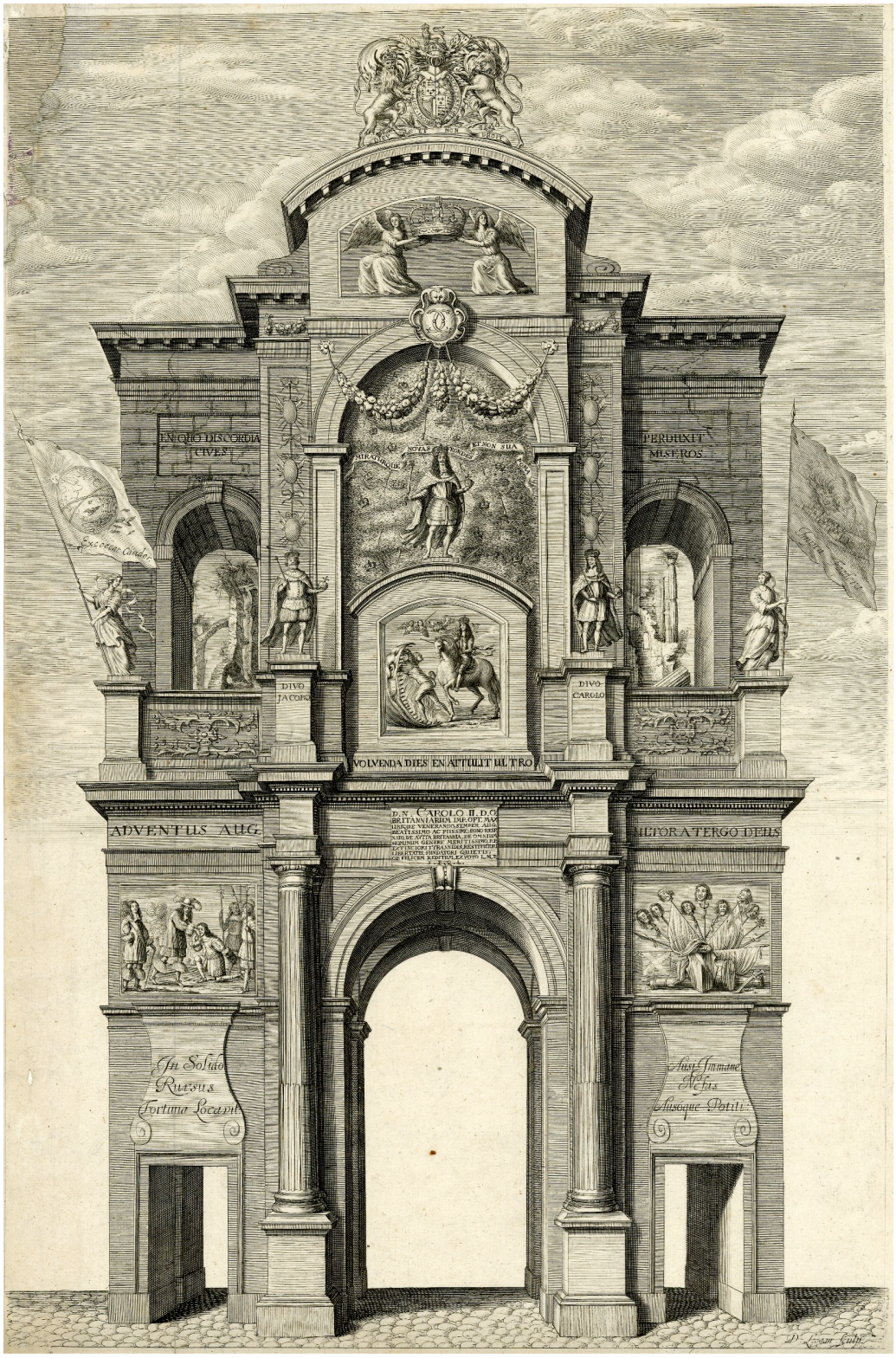



Fig. 47. David Loggan, Triumphal Arch: 'The first arch in Leadenhall Street, near Lime Street', 1662, etching on paper, British Museum, London


Fig. 48. David Loggan, Triumphal Arch: 'The second arch at the Exchange in Cornhill. Naval theme', 1662, etching on paper, British Museum, London


Fig. 49. David Loggan, Triumphal Arch: The third arch near Wood St, on the theme of the Temple of Concord', 1662, etching on paper, British Museum, London


Fig. 50. David Loggan, Triumphal Arch: 'The fourth arch at Whitefriars, representing the Garden of Plenty', 1662, etching on paper, British Museum, London

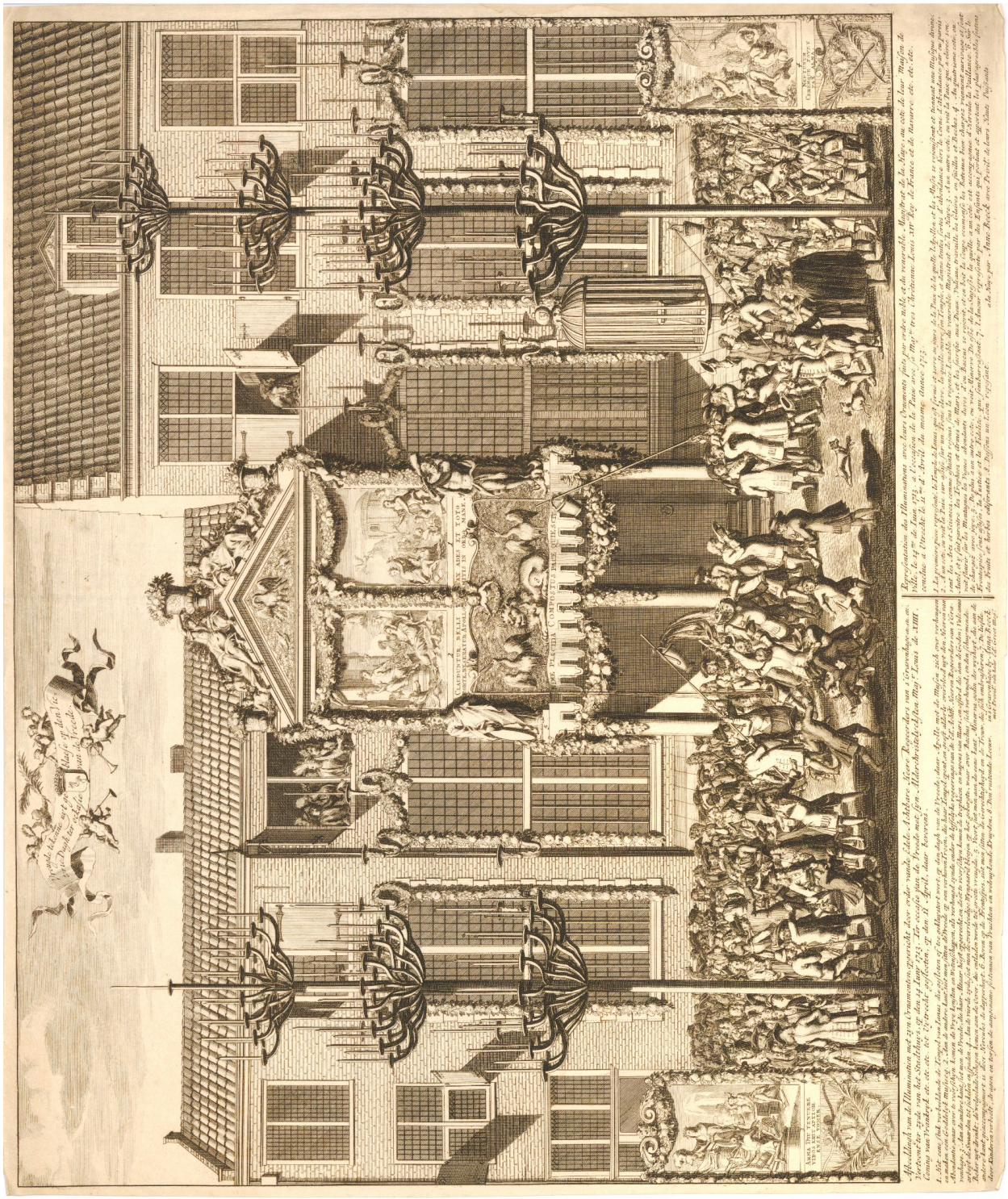


Fig. 51. Hendrick Pola, *Illuminations in front of the Town Hall in The Hague to celebrate the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713*, 1713 etching on paper, British Museum, London